

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION, 1960



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1960

PAPERS PRESENTED AT
THE 87TH ANNUAL FORUM OF THE
NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON SOCIAL WELFARE

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FOREWORD

THE COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION PAPERS selected for publication in this volume, which were presented at the 87th Annual Forum of the National Conference on Social Welfare in Atlantic City, June 5-10, 1960, cover a variety of subjects relating to community organization and its emerging importance as a method of social work practice. The range and variety of subjects are indicative of the continuing effort of the profession to refine and further to identify the role of community organization in different settings of social work practice.

The Committee read nearly fifty manuscripts given at meetings planned by the National Conference Program Committee and by the Associate Groups, from which nine were selected for publication in this volume. The significance of the subject and the contribution of new knowledge about community organization for the social work profession were important considerations in the Committee's final selections.

The papers deal both with broad and general problems affecting community organization programs and with more specific matters delineating the role of the community

organization worker in different agency settings. Increasing emphasis is reflected in the papers on the contribution of social work in meeting the ever changing needs for services to people through the community organization method.

"Planned Community Change" (Cohen), "Precise Terminology Means Better Communication" (Hoffer), "Social Work in Community Change" (Markey), and "Social Group Work in Community Development" (Miniclier) are papers which highlight the growing importance of community organization in social work and further refine our knowledge of it. The papers on financing of social welfare services by MacRae and Merriam underscore some basic problems which have significant implications for community organization as a method of developing an effective program of health and welfare services to people.

"Housing, Urban Renewal, and Social Work" (Wood), "Community Organization for the Aging in Rural Areas" (Nash), and "The Place of Information and Referral Centers in Community Planning" (Crowley) are papers illustrative of the scope of community organization work in the social welfare field.

The chairman wishes to acknowledge with appreciation the diligent work of Chester Brown and Robert Morris as members of the Committee; also the invaluable staff assistance of Ruth Williams without whose help this assignment could not have been completed.

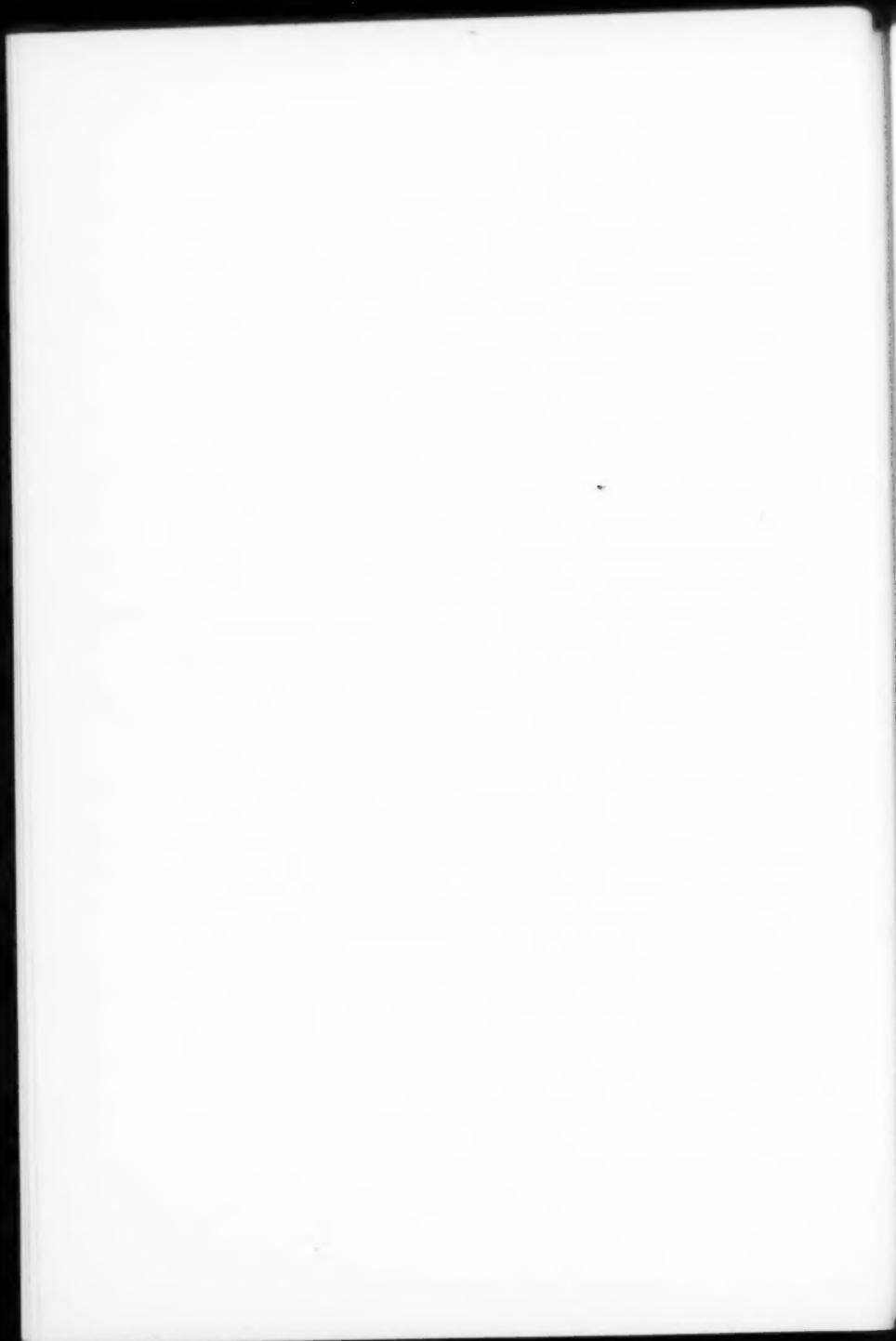
ROBERT F. FENLEY

*New York City
August 1960*

*Chairman, Selection Committee for
Community Organization Papers*

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THE CONTRIBUTORS

NATHAN E. COHEN, Dean, School of Applied Social Sciences,
Western Reserve University, Cleveland

SERENA VIRGINIA CROWLEY, Director, Community Information
and Referral Service, Health and Welfare Council,
Philadelphia

JOE R. HOFFER, Executive Secretary, National Conference
on Social Welfare, Columbus, Ohio

ROBERT H. MACRAE, Executive Director, Welfare Council
of Metropolitan Chicago

SYDNEY B. MARKEY, Associate Director, Health and Welfare
Council, Inc., Philadelphia

IDA C. MERRIAM, Director, Division of Program Research,
Social Security Administration, United States Department
of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington,
D.C.

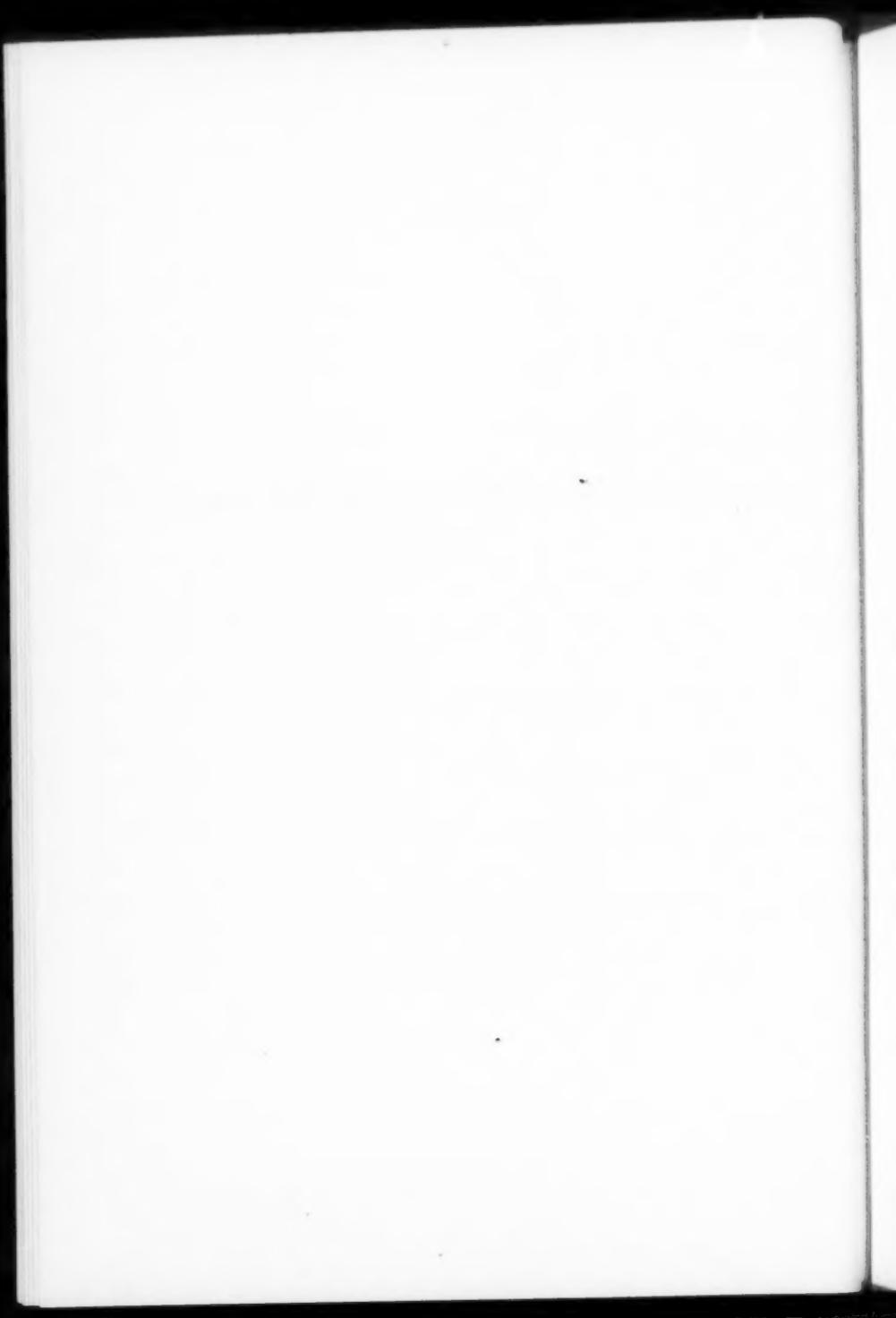
LOUIS MINICLIER, Chief, Development Division, Office of
Public Services, International Cooperation Administration,
Washington, D.C.

BERNARD E. NASH, Consultant in Aging, State Department
of Public Welfare, St. Paul

ELIZABETH WOOD, Director of Urban Studies, Management
Services Associates, Inc., New York

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COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION, 1960



PLANNED COMMUNITY CHANGE, A MULTIPLE RESPONSIBILITY

by Nathan E. Cohen

A CONCERN for better community planning is being shown by various fields and disciplines. Each, as they probe more deeply into their particular problem, begins to see its relationship to other forces, since a true interdisciplinary conception comes from depth of knowledge rather than from superficiality. For example, Dr. Leonard Duhl, a psychiatrist with the National Institute of Mental Health, suggests an ecological approach in tackling the problems of mental health. Such an approach includes a study of man in his society, of the multiple factors of environment—internal and external—which affect normal development and behavior of the individual and society. He states that environment both affects and is affected by man and that the etiology of disease is due to a combination of multiple factors, including biological differences, environmental differences, and processes of interaction between individuals. Dr. Duhl defines disease as a group of symptoms allowed at the moment by the ecological play of forces. For him, dealing with one symptom is like plugging a hole in a dike—the real need is to find ways to deal with or prevent the pressures that caused the problem in the first place. We need to answer the questions, for example, of how climate, geography, economics, community institutions, laws, educa-

tion, government, business practices, crime, and recreation fit into a program of mental health. As pointed out by Dr. Duhl, unless we can envision the total problem area, we cannot find the key factors to the solution, and we may provide the sort of solutions that leave the individual with no freedom of action except to resort to an escape like depression, delinquency, or alcoholism.¹

People beginning at the other end of the spectrum, in economic development, for instance, are also moving toward a more inclusive conception of community change and community planning. Alva Myrdal, writing on the experience in underdeveloped countries, points out that to focus on economic needs alone without taking into account the attitudes, values, and social settings of people leads to the risk of "unbalanced development." Her major question in this connection is as follows:

Do the efforts so far undertaken aim as directly as they might toward increased social welfare, that is, human welfare? Are they not too optimistically directed toward an immediate increase of economic productivity, in the belief that such an increase would automatically ensure the welfare of the populations concerned? Are they not too little directed toward those factors which, in the special dynamics of any one country, could be considered as strategic for a long-term development that would both raise the level of production and of consumption and also assure the retention or recreation of indigenous values of culture and human rights? ²

Similar concerns have emerged from our experience with urban redevelopment. There is growing realization that building housing projects without regard for human needs

¹ Leonard J. Duhl, "The Changing Face of Mental Health—Some Ecological Contributions," paper presented at the Detroit Division Meeting, American Psychiatric Association, 1959.

² Alva Myrdal, "A Scientific Approach to International Welfare," in

and values and existing cultural patterns can lead to sterile results; that sanitary housing per se does not eliminate the social problems of a neighborhood.

Douglas Haskell, editor of the *Forum*, the professional magazine of the American Institute of Planners, has said:

Urban redevelopment, the great postwar experiment in city rebuilding, has developed one serious, and potentially fatal, flaw. The planners and redevelopers are, by and large, ignoring the single greatest fact about the city: that it consists of an intricate living network of relationships, and is made up of an enormously rich variety of people and activities . . .

This network of human relationships is, in fact, all that the city has which is of unique value. All that the city possesses—of magnetism, of opportunities to earn a living, of leadership, of the arts, of glamour, of convenience, of power to fulfill and assimilate its immigrants, of ability to repair its wounds and right its evils—depends on its great and wonderful crisscross of relationships.

Yet more often than not, urban planners and rebuilders have been treating the city as if it were mainly a collection of physical raw materials—land, space, roads, utilities. The result is destruction and disorganization of the city's economic and social relationships. The *New York Times* recently noted: "When slum clearance enters an area, it does not merely rip out slatternly houses. It uproots the people. It tears out the churches. It destroys the local businessman, it sends the neighborhood lawyer to new offices downtown and it mangles the tight skein of community friendships and group relationships beyond repair."

The theory of urban rebuilding, of course, is quite the opposite. It rests on the premise that subsidized improvement will catalyze further spontaneous improvement. Unfortunately, things are not working that way in most cities. Living communities, portions of living commercial districts, are so ruthlessly and haphazardly

Alva Myrdal, Arthur J. Altmeyer, and Dean Rush, *America's Role in International Welfare* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955), p. 8.

amputated that the remnants, far from improving, often develop galloping gangrene.

Furthermore, the newly built projects themselves tend to stifle the growth of new social relationships. . . . What we may be less aware of is that this stifling of variety and of economic and social relationships is inherent in the massive project approach itself . . .

We must become much more astute, too, about where we locate schools, health centers, welfare offices, shopping areas, and parks, so that these facilities strengthen our city communities and reinforce the living network of relationships. We must avoid fostering communities composed only of the transient—either the publicly housed transient poor, or the childless transient rich.

And, finally, . . . we may as well realize that the city is never going to get finished.³

A multiple approach to planning seems to be the order of the day. There is, however, a tremendous gap between our growing intellectual awareness of this need and our practices. What is the basis of this gap? Does it exist because of the differences in methodology of the various fields and disciplines involved in community planning, or because planning in a modern-day society, demanding as it does an expanded role for government, is inimical to some people's conception of the American way of life? Or is it perhaps a combination of both these factors?

Part of the answer may be found in the different emphases of the various fields and disciplines involved. As pointed out by Sanders,⁴ there are four ways of viewing community development, namely, as a process, a method, a program, and a movement. In the first, the emphasis is "upon what happens to people, socially and psychologi-

³ Douglas Haskell, "What Is a City?" *Architectural Forum*, CIX, No. 1 (1958), pp. 63, 65.

⁴ Irwin T. Sanders, "Theories of Community Development," *Community Development Review*, June, 1958, p. 31.

cally"; in the second, the "emphasis is upon some end," which may be specific and fragmented; in the third, the "emphasis is upon activities"; in the fourth, the emphasis is on "promoting," the idea of community development as interpreted by its devotees. All of these are important ingredients of a total approach, but any one of them of and by itself can result in fragmentation in dealing with social change. This fragmentation is not accidental, however, but rather reflects the nation's fear of planned change, especially in health, education, and social welfare.

Albert Mayer, an architect and city planner, in an address to social workers and social scientists pointed up an area in which the city planners need help badly. He stated:

Morally we dislike racial, social, economic stratification or segregation. Actually, what the planners need and want from you is some collection of evidence and of theory as to what a good community and neighborhood is, what will work and what will not. Is it best to have a homogenous or a heterogenous neighborhood or community, and, how homogenous or heterogenous? Should there be a very small homogenous unit next to another homogenous unit of a different kind, and if so what are pretty good sizes; or should the mixture be more intimate, or less so? If severely we are agreed against stratification and segregation, how far and in what way are we entitled to go or aim?⁵

These are goal and value issues which involve not just questions of method, but also more clearly defined objectives. Without a clearer social philosophy, it is difficult to determine what constitutes a social problem and what are effective solutions. Policy formulation essential to planning becomes aimless.

⁵Albert Mayer, "Can City Planners and Social Planners Get Together?" paper presented at the 40th Conference, National Federation of Settlements and Neighborhood Centers, Chicago.

An indication of the complexity of the problem can be seen in the attempt by political scientists to define social problems more systematically. Cuber and Harper,⁶ for example, categorize them on three levels. First, there are those conditions which everyone defines as bad, but value judgments do not cause the condition itself; therefore, there is little, if any, conflict over what should be done. Examples of this would be diseases and catastrophes. Secondly, there are those conditions on which there is general agreement about their undesirability, but where value judgments not only help create but also block solutions. Take, for example, crime, where a violation of mores exists, but other mores, such as monetary values and individualistic philosophies, cause crime and prevent agreement and control. Thirdly, there are those conditions about which there is considerable but no general agreement about undesirability because these conditions grow out of a conflict in values. For example, segregation and desegregation—agreement on solutions in these situations is difficult to attain.

Implied in any attempt to reverse the process of social disorganization is an interest in prevention. A preventive approach, in turn, proceeds on the assumption that the cause of social disorganization is known and that it can be eliminated. It becomes obvious immediately that the principle of cause and effect when applied to the multidimensional nature of a social problem is not so simple and clear-cut as may seem to be true in the physical sciences. "Social disorganization" is, for example, a relative term whose evaluation may vary with one's value system. Thus, social disorganization exists in the South. For some the disorgani-

⁶John Cuber and Robert Harper, *Problems of American Society: Values in Conflict* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1951).

zation may have negative results, but for others they may be positive. In brief, the same observable phenomena of social disorganization may be viewed differently, and there may consequently result a wide difference in theories to explain the causes and the possible solutions. Such theories may run the gamut from a concept of the problem as residing in the individual to a stress on the core as residing in the society, or in the political and religious design of life. Projected solutions to problems of social disorganization, therefore, vary in terms of their focus on changing and reforming the individual or the society, or on letting nature take its own course. Within the context of changing the individual or the society the method for achieving this goal may also vary.

For understandable reasons, applied fields dealing with social disorganization have found one-dimensional answers easier to utilize. If one begins with the premise that either an economic, psychological, biological, or a cultural factor is the cause, the pattern and methodology for solution can be built accordingly. Much has been learned from the intensive efforts along one-dimensional lines. It has become apparent, however, that the problems of social disorganization are of a multidimensional nature and demand a multidimensional approach in their solution.

In the earlier periods of our nation's history the question of planned or directed change was not a major issue. Blessed with resources and expanding frontiers, it was possible to emphasize individualism, democracy, and humanitarianism without any sense of conflict. Individualism referred primarily to the concept that the least amount of government was the best kind of government. Humanitarianism was expressed primarily through charity and

private philanthropy. Democracy was limited to the political arena with no attempt to extend it into economic and social areas. As pointed out by Myrdal,⁷ it was not until the great depression that the first self-evident truth of man's right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness began to receive full attention. Up to that time the major concern was with liberty, even though one man's liberty could be at the expense of another's. In other words, the line between liberty and license was often a thin one. To accomplish man's right to life and the pursuit of happiness, that is, an expansion of democracy into the economic and social spheres, involved a greater role for government. This new principle did not emerge until the thirties when conditions forced a better realization that even industrialized and urbanized society cannot function without a sense of interdependence as well as of independence. Up to this time change on the American scene had not been of a planned nature.

Sanders⁸ describes three types of change—cataclysmic, that is, change which grows out of crises like wars and depressions; sociocultural drift, which is change into which a society drifts because of an acculturation process; and planned or directed change. Planned change presupposes clearly defined objectives. It is fair to state that much change in the United States has been of the first two varieties.

In brief, historically there has been resistance to a concept of planned or directed change which would involve a greater role for government. Even in a period of changes

⁷ Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma* (New York: Harper, 1944), I, 9.

⁸ Irwin T. Sanders, "Approaches to Social Change," in *Education for Social Work*, 1960 (New York: Council on Social Work Education, 1960), pp. 1-23.

of great magnitude, our mood is such that we resist facing up to the challenge of more directed planning. As a nation we seem to be clearer about what we are against than what we are for. As pointed out by Walter Lippmann, "we in the United States talk about ourselves these days as if we were a completed society, one which has achieved its purposes, and has no further great business to transact."⁹

Our fear of bigness in government is deeply rooted, and even in a period which demands a rethinking of our attitudes and objectives we pose the problem as if it were individual freedom, in the early historical and simplest sense, versus a governmental bureaucracy. As stated earlier, an industrialized and urbanized society cannot function without a sense of interdependence as well as of independence. Frederick Lewis Allen in describing our increasing dependence upon institutions, governmental or private, sums up the change by saying that "for the rugged American individualism of tradition we have been substituting a rugged American associationism."¹⁰ We forget that there is bigness not only in government but also in industry, and even in our universities and our voluntary health and welfare organizational structure. Bigness is inherent in the mode of organization needed to cope with twentieth-century life. It has many positives as well as negatives. We seem to have a fear of government even though in the final analysis, in its democratic form, it contains the greatest opportunity for each individual to have something to say about our basic policies.

The term "planning," especially on the Federal level,

⁹ Walter Lippmann, quoted in William Stringer, "Has Our Society Neared Dead End?" *Christian Science Monitor*, September 27, 1959.

¹⁰ Frederick Lewis Allen, "Economic Security: a Look Back and a Look Ahead," in *Economic Security for Americans* (New York: American Assembly, Columbia University, 1954), p. 19.

always arouses fears. An editorial dealing with the President's Commission on National Purpose and Goals expressed the mood as follows:

We are suspicious of government planning because, if the plans are carried out, there must be government controls, and if the controls are enforced, the people lose their liberties. History teaches that government planning can be successful only when the people are the slaves of the planners.¹¹

In our fear of the welfare state we seem to be willing to close our eyes to our state of welfare. Furthermore, we live under the illusion that what we have accomplished to date has been done without government planning. A. A. Berle makes the following observation about the problem:

Never mind the epithets and political torpedoes. They merely conceal the essential structure of our present economy. In its most essential areas it is, and has been, guided for many years. That is why it runs as well as it does and why it does not crack up every seven years or so as it used to do. If we had stayed as we were before Theodore Roosevelt began planning by tackling the transportation system, or before Woodrow Wilson carried it on by signing the Federal Reserve Act, we should never have arrived at our \$500 billion production.¹²

My first point, therefore, is that planning on a larger scale than the fragmented efforts of social work, public health, public recreation, public education, urban redevelopment, and so forth, involves more clearly defined objectives than exist at present. Whether we will or not, we cannot escape facing up to the question of our social philosophy.

Let us turn now to a second question, namely, why

¹¹ *Cleveland Plain Dealer* (Monday, February 8, 1960).

¹² A. A. Berle, Jr., "Why Our Economy Must Grow Faster," *New York Times Magazine*, February 7, 1960, p. 74.

within the present framework of planning there is not more of a multiple approach to community problems. There are many fields interested in some aspect of planning. Among these are architecture, engineering, city planning, housing, law, public health, public recreation, public education, and social welfare. Some of these fields have evolved structures for planning and some function within several existing structures. Furthermore, some of these fields have a direct relationship to a professional discipline, and others involve a multidisciplined structure. Many of these fields are at an activity and program level. In fact, it is at this level that they are beginning to see areas of overlap and common interest. A second stage, that is, a conceptualization of these common areas of concern, is just beginning to emerge because of the growing developments in the behavioral sciences. Up to several decades ago the behavioral sciences were static. In recent years they have shown a greater interest in applied problems and have developed a more dynamic conceptual structure which lends itself more readily to translation into operational terms.

All of the fields involved in planning have drawn, in some form or another, from economics, psychology, political science, sociology, and anthropology. Within each of these disciplines, however, there has not been a unified theoretical structure which would have a similar impact on the applied fields which were seeking help. Furthermore, it is only in recent years that attention has been given to the interdisciplinary approach in the behavioral sciences essential for a fuller understanding of human behavior, human relations, and the social institutions through which people function.

It should be made clear that the behavioral sciences do

not provide the methodological and clinical tools needed by applied fields. They can, however, provide a base from which each field develops and enriches its methodological approach. The pattern of education in applied fields, such as medicine, engineering, and social work, is to begin with the basic sciences and then build the clinical on this base. In fields like medicine and engineering where the social aspect is becoming more and more recognized, social sciences as well as physical sciences are being included in the basic science of the training. Such a background for the doctor, for example, makes him more knowledgeable in his responsibilities as a team member in an over-all health service program which must include a variety of disciplines.

A team approach is the pattern essential for achieving planned community change. Each field now involved has something important to contribute, but the challenge is how to put the pieces of specialized knowledge each represents into larger wholes. Margaret Barron Luszki defines the problem as follows:

An interdisciplinary team is a group of persons who are trained in the use of different tools and concepts; among whom there is an organized division of labor around a common problem with each member using his own tools; with continuous inter-communication and re-examination of postulates in terms of the limitations provided by the work of other members, and often with group responsibility for the final product.¹⁸

In order for the community planning team to operate there must be sufficient recognition of a common problem and a sufficient base of knowledge for communication. As pointed out earlier, such an approach will be easier to ac-

¹⁸ Margaret Barron Luszki, *Interdisciplinary Team Research; Methods and Problems* (New York: New York University Press, 1958).

complish as the training programs of the various fields begin to recognize the essential ingredients basic to planning and include these in their training programs.

In the meantime, those now at work in communities that have not had the benefit of the changing patterns of training may have to continue to hammer out a team approach in the laboratory of experience. Such an approach will perhaps be most successful not by one discipline trying to surround itself with other disciplines on an auxiliary or para-basis, but rather as cooperative groups with a greater sense of equality around a common problem. There should be opportunities from the very beginning for continuous intercommunication in the identification of the common problems and the development of a plan. Through this communication the common and unique contributions of each group can be recognized and integrated into the plan. The division of labor which will result from such an approach should help enrich the final product.

Better communication, however, is just a beginning rather than a final panacea; for even under the most ideal conditions we will discover that our combined bodies of knowledge are far from adequate. We need more than a mere addition of what each field knows. As we move from the level of combining experiences to that of greater conceptualization, we will want to look at the new dynamic concepts emerging from sociology, social psychology, cultural anthropology, economics, and political science. The problem we will face is how the applied fields in cooperation with behavioral scientists can begin to translate this new theoretical knowledge into operational terms, that is, into usability.

The integration of concepts from "pure" science into

applied fields faces certain difficulties. As pointed out by Wilensky and Lebeaux:

The practitioner wants answers to practical problems and the surer the answers the better. But only a little of social science is immediately practical and less is sure. . . . What the social scientist thinks of as objective investigation the practitioner often takes as "hostile attack" The practitioner often puts high value on practical experience and common sense as guides to truth; the social scientist is suspicious of both.¹⁴

Kadushin, writing on the same problem, distinguishes these "barriers" to borrowing from "hazards" to borrowing. The latter he considers more significant. He states that we are more likely to borrow dated knowledge than current knowledge due to the time lag of interdisciplinary communication. The knowledge is apt to be used with a greater degree of confidence than it is granted by the discipline which developed the knowledge. We are likely to borrow a simplified version of the original data—and to the extent it is simplified, it will be distorted.¹⁵

Turning now to the question of expanding our bodies of knowledge more conceptually and dynamically, some of the questions to be explored are as follows:

1. How up to date is our knowledge and theory of community? Warren in a challenging article questions the validity and adequacy of existing theories and develops a conceptual scheme of a horizontal and vertical axis to analyze the structural-functional changes in a modern community. It is his thesis that modern conditions of societal

¹⁴ H. L. Wilensky and C. N. Lebeaux, *Industrial Society and Social Welfare* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1958), pp. 20-21.

¹⁵ Alfred Kadushin, "The Knowledge Base of Social Work," in Alfred Kahn, ed., *Issues in American Social Work* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959), pp. 66-69.

interdependence, centralization, and specialization are changing the role of the local association. For Warren, the horizontal axis emphasizes locality. It involves the relationship of individual to individual or of group to group within the locality. . . . Its principal task is co-ordinative, and its principal leadership role is that of the "permissive community organizer" The vertical axis emphasizes specialized interest. It involves the relationship of the individual to a local interest group and of that local interest group to a regional, state, or national organization. . . . Its principal task is accomplishing some specific achievement, and its principal leadership role is that of the "problem area specialist."¹⁸

Whether or not one agrees with Warren's formulation, there is no question that the knowledge and skills necessary for community planning in a local community should include the forces and pressures of the larger society. In the same way that there is danger in abstracting the individual from the life around him, so too one can make the mistake of abstracting the community from the surrounding society, from the economic, political, and social forces on all levels, of which it is a part.

2. In working with the community have we tended to abstract small units, thereby losing sight of the larger contexts of which these units are a part? For example, can the solutions of neighborhood problems be divorced from the central government of the city?

3. Have we developed sufficient knowledge for "casing" a community? In diagnosing community problems, have we learned to take into account such factors as the demographic, ecological, governmental, associational, economic, leadership, and power structures of the community? Do

¹⁸ Roland L. Warren, "Toward a Reformulation of Community," *Community Development Review*, June, 1958, p. 41.

we understand the interdependence of these various forces?

4. Are our present structures for planning adequate or are they too fragmented and special-interest oriented?

5. Have we given sufficient attention to research, especially to studies of large units of community operations?

There are several additional questions which are more in the value area but which definitely affect our methodology. One is the extent of emphasis on content and specific programs, as against the emphasis on the process of moving toward change. Another is the stance we take on the concept of self-determination, and a third is our concept of needs. The focus on process is important in that what happens to people psychologically and socially is an essential ingredient of accomplishing social change. Process, however, does not take place in a vacuum. We deal with process in relation to programs and goals which one is trying to achieve. The emphasis on process as an end in itself detached from goal attainment which has specific meaning for the life situation of the people involved can result in reducing the community planning approach to a narrow conception of adjustment in terms of the psychology of the individual. This approach fragments the multi-dimensional conception and leaves out the importance of social institutions through which people function. It is a bit like reducing the problem to a single dimension about which we may have special knowledge rather than facing the problem in terms of all its variables. Furthermore, in so reducing the problem there is the danger of dealing with symptoms of the situation rather than with the real problems.

On the other hand, to focus on the economic needs of food, clothing, and shelter alone without taking into ac-

count the attitudes and values of people can also represent fragmentation in dealing with social change. In brief, content and process are two sides of the same coin, welded together in terms of method, goals, and values. The substitution of one or the other for the whole can lead to an abstraction and fragmentation of the problem.

Another key question concerns the stand we take on the concept of self-determination. Unless we are clearer about the unit of self-determination in an increasingly interdependent society, planning can become limited and fragmented. The concept of self-determination finds its roots in philosophical idealism. The philosophical idealist stated that man should have the right to do what he wanted to do, provided what he chose to do was right. We tend to forget the latter part of this concept. As pointed out by Williams, "in an age of localism and small groups, the unforeseen consequences of organized actions had a limited impact on the wider society and often were in a sense self-corrective in the short-run because of the immediacy of the consequences."¹⁷ As society has grown more complex and interdependent, a conception of self-determination which does not take into account the ramification of such decisions on larger wholes results in an abstraction of the situation from the larger whole of which it is a part. For example, a study was made in a blighted area as to whether or not the people wanted public housing. The majority of the residents preferred their present dwellings. The larger community, however, favored a slum-clearance project, as they felt that the slum area was a focus of physical and social infection for the entire community. What is the unit

¹⁷ Robin M. Williams, *American Society* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1951), p. 473.

of decision in this case? Is protection of the principle of self-determination for the immediate group more important than the consequences for the larger community? Can change be brought about without offending the limited conception of self-determination? Fair housing legislation is another good example of this problem.

On the question of our concept of needs, we tend to think of needs purely in terms of the individual—his desires, interests, and drives. In our approach toward a better equation of needs and resources, there may be a tendency to forget that the society also has needs. It must help produce the type of individuals necessary for a continuation and expansion of its basic goals and values. In order to achieve this, any program of meeting human needs should take into account what the meeting of these needs will do to the basic social institutions. This means so ordering our social institutions that both the needs of the individual and those of the society are being met at the same time.

Allow me to return briefly to what is for me an overriding question, namely, our attitude toward planning. Planning without a greater sense of purpose in a rapidly changing world will not really be planning unless we better understand the climate in which we are operating. Part of our dilemma is that we are in a period which cannot be defined in crisis terms through previous experiences. We are not at war, but we are not at peace. We are not in a depression, but our economic stance is not a healthy one. We are no longer in the McCarthy era, but conformity and frictionless interpersonal relations seem to be the order of the day. We are entering a new age, but want to understand it and meet it with our knowledge of the old. Yet, there are surrounding us and engulfing us enormous

changes which can result in a political, economic, and social crisis, but we cannot recognize them because of their newness in pattern. Furthermore, values are a large ingredient of the crisis, but represent a dimension around which our senses have become dulled and our muscles atrophied. As pointed out at the White House Conference,

Everywhere the hold of tradition is being weakened, and men are left uncertain and disturbed. Everywhere men are asking: "What are the real values of life?" or "How can we preserve the values we know in a world that we cannot foresee?" We live in an anxiety-ridden world, and the anxiety may be due to questions such as these, even more than to a fear of sudden annihilation!¹⁸

If ever there was a period which called for a greater sense of purpose and planning, this is it. In such periods it is easy to separate goals from methods and end up with techniques and gadgets rather than with meaningful planning. In order to avoid such a gap, we must be willing to take a deeper look into our philosophy about American society with its ever expanding technology and urbanization. The rights of the individual have been clearly delineated, but has there been a sufficient emphasis on his responsibilities? There is too much the tendency to equate an increased role for government with loss of freedom for the individual. Need we have this deep fear of government in a nation whose foundation is a government of the people, by the people, and for the people?

¹⁸ Arthur Flemming, Foreword, *Children in a Changing World* (White House Conference on Children and Youth, 1960).

PRECISE TERMINOLOGY MEANS BETTER COMMUNICATION

by Joe R. Hoffer

IF SOCIAL WORK is a profession that seeks to combine scientific thinking with the creative use of it, and if the social welfare field is to make its fullest contribution to the well-being of individuals, groups, and communities, then we must recognize the importance of terminology and give major attention to our problems of verbal communication and design solutions for them. This is not an easy task, but perhaps we can make a small beginning.

Defining a term or attempting to solve our problem of terminology cannot be done in a vacuum. Therefore, I shall widen the scope of our inquiry and include along with terminology two related problems which constantly plague us, namely, classification and documentation.

Classification is "the grouping together of like things. . . . [it] is also a separating process and the characteristic by which material is separated into groups determines the kind of classification."¹ Classification is important because it provides for a systematic study of the terminology applied to any subject field under consideration. It means that the many terms are brought into some logical order to insure consistent usage.

¹ M. M. Herdman, *Classification—an Introductory Manual* (Chicago: American Library Association, 1947), p. 3.

A useful traditional device for defining a term is that of indicating the class to which the term belongs, and also the particular property which distinguishes it from all other members of the same class. Documentation is a relatively new problem. The term is used to designate the total complex of activities involved in the preparation, reproduction, distribution, and communication of specialized information. Documentation makes it possible for the searcher to exhaust the resources of written information on his chosen subject. To be effective, a good documentation system must include literature which expounds new theories or new interpretations of an old theory, as well as new words which are coined in an attempt to give freshness to an old subject.

What is the extent of our problem in terminology in social welfare? It is difficult to answer this question accurately, but it is considerable and confusing. Two illustrations may support these two assumptions.

The first one is a brief historical analysis of the introduction and use of a few selected terms found in the Proceedings of the National Conference on Social Welfare (NCSW).

The Proceedings of the NCSW Annual Forums provide a good case study of how our terminology has developed and grown complicated. Probably the first appearance of the term "case work" in the Proceedings was in a paper by Edward T. Devine (1897) in which he said that "good case work involves much thankless labor." John Glenn (1899) appears to have introduced the term "organization" when he said that "the welfare of the community and the individual alike demands organization in charity as well as in other forms of activity around them." Around the turn

of the century we find the four terms "charity," "welfare," "organization," and "community" used in a variety of ways.

Jane Addams (1910) gave us "social justice"; Allen Burns (1916), "state-wide associations." Graham R. Taylor (1916) equated "interpretation to the community" and "organization of the community." In 1918 R. E. Miles asked "what are the social forces?" William J. Norton (1919) saw "the field already laid out . . . upon a basis of unrelated functional division, each function revolving about an attempt to solve some specific problem." He saw it "complicated by religious, racial, political, and personal motivation."²

By the 1920s the NCSW Proceedings were sprinkled with some new terms: "community chest," "community life," "district," "neighborhood," "federation for social work," and "social work finance."

The 1930s added: "public relief," "public welfare," "public health," "lay participation," "social insurances," "social group work," "public relations," "progressive education," "mental hygiene," "civil liberties," "supervision," "research," and many other new terms.

In the 1940s writers suggested that community organization was woven into the fabric of most of what social work does and therefore it had lost its identity. Kenneth Pray (1947) said that "community organization was social practice."

The fifties presented evidence that our problem of terminology was getting more complex. It became evident that social workers did not have a monopoly on community organization. Agnes Meyer (1956) told us that "the trend

²William J. Norton, "Community Organization," in *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work, 1919* (Chicago: the Conference, 1920), p. 668.

toward specialization in social work has led to such an emphasis on individual treatment and to the expansion of so many professional groups working independently of each other, that nobody is responsible for the family as a unit."³

Louis Towley said: "The social worker helping a community to organize its social welfare is guided by the same principles stated and developed by Gordon Hamilton (1952) in discussing the role of social casework in social action."⁴ Violet Sieder (1956) believed "that the focus . . . on the generic aspects of social work is putting a renewed emphasis on group and community process."⁵ To compound our problem, the Curriculum Study of the Council on Social Work Education suggests "that the executives of all social agencies as administrators are engaged in a development of special welfare programs and should properly be classified as 'community organization workers.'"⁶

In reviewing the terms in community organization which have been getting a great deal of attention—"community work," "community development," "social community organization work," "community organization work," "social welfare organization"—the average practitioner not only is confused, but finds that his efforts to clarify his terms are tiring and frustrating as well.

It should be evident from this brief historical review of a few of our basic terms that our problem of terminology

³ Agnes E. Meyer, "Has the Structure of Social Work Become Outmoded?" in *The Social Welfare Forum, 1956* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1956), p. 29.

⁴ Frank J. Bruno and Louis Towley, *Trends in Social Work, 1874-1956* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1957), p. 429.

⁵ Violet M. Sieder, "What Is Community Organization Practice in Social Work?" in *The Social Welfare Forum, 1956*, p. 173.

⁶ Harry L. Lurie, *The Community Organization Method in Social Work Education* (New York: Council on Social Work Education, 1959).

is not of recent origin. Furthermore, it is apparent that it is complicated by such factors as changing philosophies, interrelationships of the various specialties, the impact of other professions and disciplines, diverse motivations, specialization, and emphasis on services or on the problem-centered approach, to name a few.

For my second illustration—an *Ad hoc* Committee on the Basic Subject Headings in Social Welfare, made up of representatives of NCSW, the National Association of Social Workers (NASW), Columbia University Press, and the New York School of Social Work has been at work for the past year attempting to solve a few of our problems in terminology, classification, and documentation.⁷ The original purpose of this project was to identify the basic subject headings in social welfare which might be used as a basis for classifying our literature. In addition, we stressed the importance of defining these subject headings and agreed that practice and the problems of practice should be included.

We reviewed available resources and compiled an alphabetical list of 683 so-called "basic" subjects from the files of the four participating organizations. Of the 683 subjects, only 83, or 12.2 percent, appeared in two or more lists. Although the four organizations are dealing with the same subject matter, 600, or 87.8 percent of the subjects, were single listings. Not only were these figures disconcerting, but further analysis revealed that there was much duplication and overlapping.

Is it any wonder that we are confused? Is it any wonder that we have difficulty agreeing on what it is we want to

⁷The committee members are serving as individuals and are not official representatives of the organizations.

communicate? Is it any wonder that we have difficulty in communicating not only with each other but, more especially, with our various publics?

The committee agreed early in its deliberations that much of the existing confusion would be reduced if a consensus could be reached on a few working definitions. With this small committee, whose members had a minimum of vested interests in the terms, this was accomplished. The original list of 683 subjects was reduced to 70 items, and these we called "descriptors."

It appeared essential to us in the preliminary committee work that the many terms which make up our ever increasing vocabulary should be classified or grouped into some logical order to encourage consistent usage. Terms not only multiply, they take on new meanings as well. We must be cognizant of such changes. It would be helpful if we could distinguish the broad headings from the more minute. To be able to group all in a logical arrangement was a necessary preliminary step before deciding on our basic subject headings.

I doubt whether we know or can agree upon what it is we should be communicating to each other and to our various publics. However, I would like to suggest some guideposts which may be helpful in reducing the present confusion in terminology. These specific meanings are merely illustrative and need considerable refinement.

The fact that many terms have multiple meanings creates problems in using them with clarity and precision. It is difficult for the average practitioner or layman to give the correct connotation in the specific context in which such terms are used. Therefore, we might agree arbitrarily that a term be given only one meaning: adoption (service);

dependency (problem); children (age group); community organization (method); camping (setting); voluntary (auspice); neighborhood (geographic); community development (movement). For example, there are four ways in which community development has been viewed: as a process, a method, a program, and a movement. If we could accept that it more nearly approximates a movement, in which community development becomes an institutionalized cause, then we would use the term "community development" only in this sense.

The *Ad hoc* Committee found it not only useful but imperative in reducing the 683 subjects to 70 to adopt some working definitions for such terms as "welfare," "social welfare," "social work," and "social services." The key idea in each of these terms was expressed as follows: *welfare* (well-being of all individuals, groups, and communities); *social welfare* (field encompassing the community social services under governmental and/or voluntary auspices); *social work* (the major professional practice in social welfare); *social services* (organized activities that aim at helping toward a mutual adjustment of individuals and their social environment).

Considerable confusion is generated around terms used to describe workers and the auspices of social services in social welfare. We might use "career" and "volunteer" rather than "professional" and "lay" to describe the paid and unpaid workers in our field. The term "professional" social worker might be reserved for those eligible for membership in the NASW.

We may find "governmental" and "voluntary" more understandable than "public" and "private" to describe the two major financial auspices for social services. We could

then use the term "private" to describe those services which are provided by organizations for their own group, such as business and industry, fraternal organizations, and trade unions.

There has been growing evidence that social workers in community organization have been concerned with the manner in which their practice has been described. Some shudder when the term "community organizer" is used because it seems to violate the basic principles of social work. The term "organizer" implies manipulation, while social work is a helping profession, nonmanipulative, and directed toward individualization in terms of self-help and self-organization. And yet the term appears at least forty-six times in the Curriculum Study volume *The Community Organization Method in Social Work Education*.⁸

We will not make much progress in defining our terminology if we continue our present free wheeling. While we are not ready to freeze our terminology, I think the time has come to analyze our literature and its use of terms. I suggest, therefore, that we should turn our attention to classification and documentation, which I believe provide a key, not only to the problem of terminology, but also to the improvement of verbal communication.

We must solve at least two problems before we can design a documentation system which will meet the needs of the total social welfare field. (1) We need a classification system for books and pamphlets which will be universally acceptable in all libraries and agencies. (2) We need a classification scheme for finding data (information retrieval) in high-utility reports, journal articles, manuscripts, and books.

⁸ Lurie, *op. cit.*

The problem of book-pamphlet classification is primarily a technical problem for librarians with special experience or knowledge in social welfare terminology. The second problem, "information retrieval," will be considered here since it is important in relation to our main concern about terminology. Information retrieval is concerned with the finding of information. Its problems can usually be considered quite apart from the matters of how the documents containing the information are filed or stored. We should, however, examine the conventional methods of classifying data before we reach any conclusions about information retrieval.

The conventional method of classification depends primarily on the title of the book which must be stored. Classification, as we have noted, is the grouping together of like things; it is also a separating process. The arrangement of books by subject is called a "fundamental" or "natural" classification.

Different attempts have been made to divide subject matter into classes and to arrange these classes systematically. Three major systems for general libraries are in use—Dewey Decimal, Library of Congress, and the Brussels classification. The first two are primarily book classifications, and the latter is used for classifying bibliography and catalogue entries. None of these classifications has given social welfare or social work major consideration. Our literature is usually classified under sociology or social and political sciences.

Since these major systems have not produced adequate specialized classification schemes for social welfare, it has been necessary for each library or agency to develop its own. While the individual plans may be adequate for the

special purposes for which they are designed, their great weakness is that they are not related to the other plans. This fact, together with the lack of clarity of our terminology, has produced such disadvantages as: user frustration and human error during information retrieval; use of mere words as they occur in titles instead of controlled ideas or concepts necessary for the retrieval of technical or professional information; differences between the cataloguer's and the user's characterization of material; and widely diverse classification of the same terms because subjects in social welfare do not readily fall into neat compartments.

It should be apparent that while the conventional book classification systems are essential for library work, they are not entirely appropriate for our purposes of information retrieval. What we need is a bibliographic classification which has great flexibility and user satisfaction. The latter criterion requires many alternative possibilities and liberal cross references.

It is obvious that it will be necessary for us to develop a new approach. There are several criteria by which a classification system can be judged theoretically and practically. For purposes of information retrieval, Herdman would consider the following requirements* to be necessary:

1. Subject headings based on ideas and concepts
2. Provision for new subjects
3. A good index
4. Complete search of available data in a brief period
5. Clarity of terminology
6. Grouping of like ideas
7. Flexibility in arranging and grouping of various subjects

* Adapted from Herdman, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

The nature of knowledge, services, and methods in social welfare, the many combinations and interrelationships in our commonly used terms—child welfare, corrections, camping, sectarian social services, mental health, rehabilitation, dependency, casework, public welfare—suggest similarities to the products of chemistry.

Our natural world, which is also the world of chemistry, is composed of only 100 basic elements put together in myriad combinations and permutations. As early as 1774 Lavoisier boldly generalized that a true element was a substance that could not be split up or reduced to any other substance by a chemical means; that a compound was a combination of two or more elements chemically joined; and that many more elements would be found among the compounds of the earth than the few suggested by the ancients.¹⁰

Subsequent discoveries by scientists disclosed that the chemical elements were made of tiny, individual particles or atoms, each of a different kind which accounts for the differences in elements. The relationship of the atoms to compounds was finally solved with the introduction of the concept of molecules to explain the building of compounds; that is, a molecule was two or more atoms joined to form a unit of matter. Later, the valence theory was proposed to describe the number of bonding or linking points to which other atoms might be attached. From this and other experiments emerged the now familiar but crude visualization of molecules as a Tinker Toy structure of balls and rods—the balls representing atoms; the rods, the valence bonds joining them together—to help clarify spatial rela-

¹⁰ Adapted from Lawrence P. Lessing, *Understanding Chemistry* (New York: New American Library, 1959).

tionships. When the atomic theory was reduced to precisely measurable particles, forces, and actions, the analysis and synthesis of chemical compounds became a coordinated science, one in which all parts fitted into place.

It would be foolish to suggest that the art of human relationships may be analyzed in the same manner as chemistry, but I am suggesting that the molecular theory as developed in chemistry may help us to analyze and explain the many intricacies within social welfare and its relations to other fields. This would mean that we should recognize an element—a method—simply as one of the constituent parts of some larger whole—social work practice. Social work practice, like the practice of all professions, is recognized by a constellation of elements. It is the particular content and pattern of this constellation which makes it social work practice and distinguishes it from the practice of other professions.¹¹

Our initial step, then, in defining social work practice, corrections, community organization, or any other broad concepts, would be to identify the basic elements in social welfare. If we go beneath the surface of our specific subjects, we find them made up of parts which can be identified tentatively under at least twelve fundamental categories: values, purposes, services, problems, special problem groups, age groups, methods, settings, auspices or sanctions, geographical boundaries, provision and management of social services, and special knowledge. A classification which is to reflect social welfare accurately would need to allow for these categories together with the basic ideas and

¹¹ See "Working Definition of Social Work Practice," prepared by the Subcommittee on the Working Definition of Social Work Practice, *Social Work*, III, No. 2 (1958), 5-9.

concepts which identify the type and nature of these categories. As listed here, these elements appear to be separate and essentially equal to each other. However, in defining, for example, social work practice, community organization, or community development, it is not only the constellation or pattern of elements which is important, but also the dominant position of two or more of these categories. For example, the NASW Subcommittee on the Working Definition of Social Work Practice suggests that "knowledge" and "values" be placed in the dominant positions in the definition of social work practice.

The molecular classification composed of elements and their "concepts" follows such a pattern. It may be possible, for example, therefore, to compare community organization and community development by using a child's Tinker Toy set in the same fashion as it is used to visualize the arrangements of chemical elements.

The second step would be to identify the basic ideas or concepts which describe the type and nature of these elements, that is, values, purposes, etc. This is essentially the problem on which the *Ad hoc* Committee is working now. Our preliminary listing of these so-called "descriptors" in social welfare includes such broad terms as casework, community organization, children's services and programs, financing, government psychiatric services, public relations, and so on. Since these terms have been sifted from the working files of four organizations with substantial publication programs, I believe they will be useful in clarifying our terminology.

To return to our analogy to chemistry, I think that you would agree that some of the concepts included in this

present list are "compounds," that is, a combination of basic ideas and basic concepts. Public welfare is an example. It includes such concepts as: government services and programs, children's services and programs, casework, adult services and programs, corrections, family services and program, social insurances, and psychiatric services, just to mention a few. Each "concept" should be broken down and analyzed for its component parts.

Our third step would be to design an administrative device to put these data to work for us and help us in our major concern—information retrieval which will provide the essential data on current practice and the nature of the social welfare field from which we can clarify our terminology.

There is available an information retrieval plan ¹² which uses so-called "descriptors" similar to those we have identified. It can be adapted to a simple, inexpensive, hand-sorted card system. Fortunately, our problem is not so complex as that of the chemists or the engineers, and therefore at this stage we need not concern ourselves with machine systems.

Since each descriptor stands for an idea or concept generally of rather broad scope, the users' search can be covered with a small number. Precision is not lost by using such broad terms even though we avoid finely drawn distinctions between closely related ideas or concepts. Narrow ideas can almost always be synthesized by the use of several descriptors.

We may choose from six to twelve descriptors to describe the meaning in each document. In essence, a filtering technique is used. For each descriptor we would ask: Would

¹² A system called Zata coding developed by Calvin N. Mooers.

anyone who would be interested in the message of this document use this idea or concept as a way of describing the information he is seeking?

The major advantages of using multiple but independent information descriptors with hand-sorted cards, such as McBee (keysort) or Perkins, may be summarized as follows:

1. It will permit a thirty-minute search of a document collection of 3,000-10,000 items.
2. It provides for free use of multiple ideas in combination.
3. It is designed for user convenience.
4. It is based upon the use of terms which appear frequently.
5. The descriptors provide incentive for association of ideas and concepts.
6. It is easy to add new documents.
7. The cost in terms of manpower and financial investment is low.

This system has still another advantage. It can be organized by one or more agencies to meet specialized needs, and the individual systems can be geared into a generally acceptable central plan. If there could be some concerted action by the social welfare field in the area of information retrieval, a greater sharing of available knowledge would be possible.

This proposal is very tentative, and the initiator is a novice in terminology, classification, and documentation. However, as a social worker in adult education utilizing the community organization method in social welfare, I am convinced that we must clear this road block if we are to move ahead in finding ways of communicating effectively with each other. Although many groups have a role to play

in solving the problem of terminology, I shall mention briefly only three groups:

1. What should be the role of the NASW in the 60s?

The NASW as the major professional membership organization in the social welfare field has assumed a leadership role in clarifying terminology through its various commissions and committees—Commission on Social Work Practice, Publications Committee, and Social Work Yearbook Advisory Committee. While its major target should be the profession of social work, it should take cognizance of the social welfare field and relate its work to allied organizations and professions.

The NASW should undertake a systematic study of social work practice. If we had a single, widely recognized or accepted statement of the core activities of social work as distinct from the activities of other helping professions we could make more rapid progress in clarifying our terminology.

2. What can the NASW Committee on Community Organization do?

Harry Lurie has said that there is an

inability or unwillingness of many practitioners to explain their work in terms of general concepts rather than empirical details. . . . [Furthermore] there seems to be a widespread assumption that neither in teaching nor in practice has community organization approached the degree of conceptualization or the coordination of theory and practice considered generally as having achieved in casework and (with less certainty) in group work.¹⁸

The NASW Committee on Community Organization has a dual task for the sixties: (1) to pull abreast of the casework and group work specializations in defining the nature

¹⁸ Lurie, *op. cit.*, pp. 3-4.

of its own practice; and (2) to make verbal communication a required tool in discharging its professional tasks. Community organization practitioners because of the nature of their responsibilities have an obligation to exercise leadership in the total field and not restrict their concern about terminology to community organization.

3. What can each individual practitioner do?

I think it is obvious that this problem can only be solved by a concerted attack by the entire field. Each of us, however, can make a contribution by defining our terms and by using them with the greatest precision under present circumstances.

Calvin N. Mooers¹⁴ made the observation that even if a professional group developed a good information retrieval system—and I would add clearly defined terminology—there is no assurance that it would be used extensively. The reason for this, he explains, is that for many people it is more painful and troublesome to have information than not to have it. For such people, recourse to a retrieval system which is efficient at putting information into their hands is an action that they will tend to avoid. If this is true, it is indeed a pessimistic and even a cynical conclusion.

I have assumed that in order to clarify our terminology, we must solve the related problems of classification and documentation. In order to solve these problems, we need information.

Having information, especially about these subjects, may be painful and troublesome. When we receive the information, we must first read it, which may not always be easy.

¹⁴ Calvin N. Mooers, "Mooers' Law," *Zator Technical Bulletin*, No. 196 (1959).

We must then try to understand it. To do this, we may have to think about it. The information may require us to change our minds and possibly to give up some of our pet ideas or definitions. Having material which may belong to someone else, we must be careful not to lose it. If nothing else, it will clutter up our desks—unread. It may become a nuisance to have it come to us. It may be uncomfortable to have to do anything about it.

Thus, *not having* and not using information can often lead to less trouble and pain than having and using it. If we have information, it will take us longer to prepare manuscripts and articles. We may find that we will have fewer original ideas, but I am convinced that we will be more creative and productive.

It may be said that a particular fund of knowledge genuinely distinguishes a professional group. Society will withhold its recognition of any group until this particular fund of knowledge is defined, classified, documented, and communicated. Only by pressure from information users themselves—that is, by social workers, by the profession—will adequate information retrieval systems and, subsequently, classification of terminology be developed by the responsible organizations in social welfare.

PRELIMINARY LIST OF DESCRIPTORS

The following tentative list of descriptors is presented for discussion as to their usefulness in information retrieval of social welfare data. They were compiled by the Chairman of the *Ad hoc* Committee for possible use in information retrieval.

Fifty descriptors are the most economical and practical number for use in the proposed information retrieval scheme. These de-

scriptors—broad-scope ideas or concepts—were compiled from the original list of 683 subjects.

1. *Administration	33. Institutions and hospitals
2. Adoptions	34. *Insurances, social
3. Adult	35. *International
4. *Aging	36. Jewish
5. Alcoholism	37. Legal
6. *Aliens and foreign born	38. *Leisure time and recreation
7. Building-centered	39. *Medical, social
8. Camping	40. *Mental health
9. *Casework	41. *Mental illness
10. Catholic	42. Migrants, transients, and travelers
11. *Children	43. *Minority groups
12. City and urban	44. *National
13. Committees and small groups	45. Neighborhood
14. *Community development	46. *Personnel
15. *Community organization	47. *Philosophy
16. *Corrections	48. Prevention
17. Dependency	49. *Private practice and services
18. *Disaster and civilian	50. *Professions and related fields
19. Economic factors	51. Protestant
20. *Education—academic	52. *Psychiatry
21. Education—informal	53. *Public relations
22. Employment and unemployment	54. Public welfare
23. *Family	55. *Rehabilitation of physically handicapped
24. *Financing	56. *Research and studies
25. Foster care	57. Rural
26. *Government	58. *School—public
27. *Group work	59. *Sectarian
28. *Health and medical	60. *Social and legislative action
29. *History	61. Social planning
30. *Home maker	
31. Human growth and behavior	
32. Industry and business	

62. *Social policy	68. *Urbanization and industrialization
63. Sociocultural factors	69. *Veterans
64. *Staff development and supervision	70. *Voluntary agency
65. State and regional	71. *Volunteers
66. *Teaching and learning	72. *Youth
67. Trade union	

* Descriptors given high rating by the Committee.

SOCIAL WORK IN PLANNED COMMUNITY CHANGE

by Sydney B. Markey

THREE ASSUMPTIONS are worth examining. First, there is the supposition that community change is taking place. Second, there is the belief that such change is planned. Third, there is the conclusion that social work has a role in the process of planning the change.

Certainly we are experiencing change in the American community. The growth of the metropolitan center, wherein Philadelphia, for example, is envisioned as a complex of eleven counties reaching from Trenton, New Jersey, to Wilmington, Delaware, with its historic Delaware River serving as the binding economic strand, is being accepted as a phenomenon typical of cities in more than a dozen areas throughout the continent. Included are metropolitan centers like Cleveland, New Orleans, St. Louis, Chicago, Denver, San Francisco, and Toronto, to mention several.

Even larger changes are being envisioned. The Eastern seaboard is being talked of as a unit extending from Boston to Washington. A proposal of the Army engineers to control flood conditions and to supply water in the Philadelphia complex starts in the Catskill Mountains, terminates in Delaware Bay, and offers exciting possibilities of rec-

reational areas to serve the thirty million persons estimated for this area between New York and Baltimore.

Such a spread of metropolitan centers brings with it the disappearance of the small, somewhat independent community, as we have known it in our less populated areas. The loss of these relatively self-nurturing communities, with inherent strengths for family living, has meaning to social planning. Inversely, their exit means the creation of greater dependency upon the big city which, as the nerve center of the metropolitan complex, will be required to supply social welfare services for the many economic and social groupings to be found in the stratifications surrounding it. Responsibilities for providing these social services can no longer be left to the traditional concept of serving the underprivileged or to the chance of good intention, no matter how loftily motivated.

This change to bigness has been recognized by planners responsible for the physical aspects of our communities. The mad rush to build highways, the sad plight of public transportation facilities, the worry over refuse disposal and air pollution, are examples of problems forcing the many kinds of communities in the metropolitan center to undertake planning of some sort. We may not like aspects of the planning; nevertheless, it is planning and it does affect the way people live, work, and play.

Planning for physical arrangements in the emerging constellation is compelled by the sheer numbers of persons and their needs. The Philadelphia area population must have a program for water distribution if it is to exist. This need transcends parochialism and gargantuanism. Therefore, the Water Research Foundation for the Delaware River Basin has been formed in a voluntary effort to plan

for communities from Poughkeepsie down to Wilmington.

Another example of planning for physical needs of the local community is found in the Federal urban renewal program. Five of the seven objectives of the workable program required of a city seeking Federal subsidy necessitate physical planning, the key one being a comprehensive plan for land use. The two remaining, calling for adequate rehousing and citizen participation, have a direct bearing on social planning and will be commented upon later.

The Federal Government has become a strong and effective force on behalf of accelerated local physical planning, typified by its urban renewal activities. Would that it similarly took leadership as a force propelling social planning, nationally and locally.

The United States Conference of Mayors and the American Municipal Association have for a long time advocated planning to meet changing needs. Indeed, they are impatient with the slowness with which the country moves to act on behalf of the metropolitan areas. Again, at their meeting in May, 1960, the two organizations urged establishment of a Federal Department of Urban Affairs so that big city needs can get the attention they require in the planning of the nation's future.

A brief recitation of what is happening to metropolitan areas and how governmental planners are challenged by the changes resulting can serve to identify the issue for social workers engaged in community organization. Subscribing as we must to the premise that planned community change is a multiple responsibility, it becomes abundantly clear that there can be a most significant role for social work in the planning of the changes taking place on the American metropolitan scene.

Are we performing this role? Frankly, we are not. The reasons are many and complex. One basic reason for the underdeveloped state of planning for the social services is the absence of conviction among many social work practitioners regarding the value of full-scale planning and action in behalf of the common good. We are too prone to emphasize our diversities instead of joining forces to reach a clearly identified objective. Take public assistance in general and the Aid to Dependent Children's (ADC) program in particular, as illustrations.

With a quarter of a century of experience in social security to support the validity of the program, why does not social work make its voice heard and use its planning organizations to tell the nation that an ADC service which recognizes and safeguards the dignity of the individual is a cornerstone of the country's public welfare activities? There are many "ifs" and "buts" which keep social work from playing a dynamic role through leadership able to demonstrate singleness of purpose on an issue like the ADC program. It is sad to have to admit this during the centennial year of Jane Addams. Would that our planning skill could be fired by the zeal and forthrightness she demonstrated.

The cogent fact remains that we do not use planning to achieve effectiveness in identifying and supporting social work goals. Too many voluntary agencies refuse to accept the significant role of tax-supported services in the total welfare picture and thereupon fail adequately to engage with official agencies in planning basic community programs. Key governmental services hide behind legislative prerogative and avoid across-the-board planning that requires joint work with private agencies.

Much remains to be demonstrated, by practitioners of community organization, of a skill to achieve planning among constituent agencies so that social workers can take their place with physical and economic planners. I am assuming that we continue to subscribe to the concept that change, as a basic element in social work practice, is vital to growth and development. Further, that we can, through planning, agree on changes which are translatable into standards, which can then be brought to the planning table where, with technicians from the other disciplines, social workers will fully share in the blueprinting of the metropolitan communities of tomorrow.

No other discipline seeks the job of planning for health and welfare services. When social work fails to perform, either the job does not get done or else archaic standards are used.

Take, as an illustration, space standards for recreation. All of us are familiar with the National Recreation Association standard of one acre per 100 of population to provide a community with essential play areas. Has your city measured its facilities by this standard? Does your metropolitan area know how many open acres of its suburbia are being preserved? Has social work considered the relationship of open-space standards to density of housing in slum areas and the significance of this factor to environmental conditions that affect family living?

We did just that, in Philadelphia, with two most salutary results. At the invitation of the Planning Commission, Jack Stumpf, then the Council's group work and recreation specialist, chaired a task force representative of public recreation, public education, and voluntary agencies which, along with physical planning technicians, were concerned

with recreation standards. This was several years ago, and the new lines of communication established with physical planners have proved beneficial to the cause of social work to this day. This was one result.

The second product is the recommended new standards for recreation spaces for Philadelphia. When we saw the first compilations, indicating a shortage of 2,102 acres for recreation purposes, and our economists estimated that it would cost more than \$200 million to acquire and develop the desired acreage, we gulped hard. Yet, the gratifying results speak for themselves. These standards have been fully incorporated into the city's proposed comprehensive land use plan, recently released by the Philadelphia Planning Commission. Inclusion of open-space requirements means that public recreation needs are identified in the city's plan alongside essentials like sewers, highways, and land for commercial, industrial, and residential areas. This represents placement of leisure-time facilities under governmental auspices where they properly belong in the plans for the future life of our community.

Two collateral gains are being experienced. Within the city, representatives of voluntary leisure-time agencies and of comparable official agencies are looking at questions both of overlap and of complementation of their respective facilities and program resources. This is a tougher assignment and in a way a more important one than securing more space, since it brings out qualitative questions such as which agency does what job in programming at the neighborhood level. Here is an aspect of community planning which holds tremendous meaning in the effective use of the limited tax and voluntary dollars.

The second gain comes from a quickened concern

throughout the metropolitan area for the preservation of lands needed for future recreational programs. Tied to items like the concern for water and the loss of parks to highways, the fact of increased population vividly brings to the attention of community leaders the importance of setting aside resources to serve the leisure of coming generations.

Attention must also be given to the development of standards applicable to annual expenditures for recreation. How does your community rate against the standard of an annual expenditure of \$6.00 per capita for public recreation, recommended in the National Recreation Association's goal for "a comprehensive community recreation program"?

The two goals for public recreation, an acre per 100 of population for space and \$6.00 per capita annually for program, are held up before us because of what they represent in community planning. It is immaterial whether you or I approve of these particular standards. What is of significance, is that they are among the few standards we can take to the planning table where community change is being plotted.

Recently, we tried to find standards usable for an urban renewal development where, ultimately, 40,000 people will live on what is now swampland. We had the public recreation standards. We made an educated guess at general hospital bed requirements. But we had no acceptable standards for counseling, nursing, day care, group work, and the other personal services that should be built into the plans being made today for the new community.

This is the basic lack facing a social worker attempting to deal with the changing community. We possess too few

standards agreed upon in the field as bench marks for the measurement of today's performance and tomorrow's needs.

We can no longer hide behind a rationalization that because social services are for the underprivileged and depend upon the community's goodness, they are not subject to measurement either for quantity or for quality. The establishment of standards that have both depth and breadth is the challenge to social work if we desire to practice in a discipline that has a demonstrable and scientific base.

The need for standards becomes even more apparent when another constellation of community changes is brought into focus. These are found in suburbia where the growing middle-class society seeks health, welfare, and recreation services in the same way that it turns to educational and religious programs.

As tax payers and supporters of private philanthropy, suburbanites want services for themselves and their families. This requires a variety in counseling, leisure-time, and medical care programs as well as new dimensions in their quantity and quality. It means a performance and accountability not known to social work when its beneficiaries were regarded as the underprivileged.

There really is no choice but to develop such skills for our planning processes. Breast beating will not bring them about. Attention to what we have learned in years of practice, seasoned by rules of research, can—if the will to coordinate and to accept direction becomes a way of life among social work agencies facing changes in their communities.

An understanding of changes and their effect on social work practice has begun to emerge. We experienced a cross

ventilation of ideas on the subject when at the April, 1960, session of our monthly meeting of professional physical and social planners in Philadelphia, Dr. Hertha Kraus, of Bryn Mawr, presented her views on relationship between planners. Dr. Kraus discussed factors affecting social planning, some of the goals sought, and how these could be achieved. The ideas were most stimulating, with particular impact upon physical planners, who saw in them components of measurement needed from social work.

The factors Dr. Kraus listed as affecting social work planning were:

1. Services and facilities are designed to supplement the resources of the family.
2. In an increasingly complex society, every family needs supplementation. This is recognized in services such as education, fire departments, and police protection but is less well recognized concerning areas like social work services.
3. Society's readiness to provide and use services is effected by its economic potential, social sensitivity, and social responsibility.
4. Priorities in the development of helping services are rarely determined by a sound grasp of needs. Instead, they are usually determined by the size and status of the population at risk, by political pressures, by economic pressures, and by emotional reactions to explosive community situations.
5. The development of community services should be related to the long-range goals of the community.

The two goals of social planning given by Dr. Kraus were:

1. Most accepted is the goal to achieve at least minimum health and decency standards of living for everyone.

2. Not so widely accepted is the goal of providing aid to *all* individuals and families in *all* neighborhoods so that they may develop to their fullest potential—not only to those who are ill, in trouble, emotionally disabled, or in some other way dysfunctional.

As the means to achieve goals, Dr. Kraus listed present unrelated agency efforts in three categories: foundation services; diagnostic, therapeutic, and rehabilitative services; and general facilities and services for self-help and development. The third group is the most neglected, in her opinion.

Such an analysis, based on knowledge of teaching and practice, understanding of social forces, and identification of neglected areas of services, represents a means to build standards and to develop processes for social planning.

Simultaneously with the profession's internal efforts at developing criteria for standards, we need to be active on the broad scene and with other disciplines engaged in planning. The opportunity to do this exists in every metropolitan community in the United States. I suggest that urban renewal offers the way to get into the heart of planning for community change. I further suggest that the door stands wide open for social planners to walk into the workshop and take their places among the several kinds of planners already engaged in plotting the changes being wrought by the urban renewal program.

One illustration of how this can be done was given through the story of how Philadelphia's public recreation standards became part of the comprehensive land use program. The work of social worker planners in creation of the standards indicates what can be accomplished for other objectives in urban renewal's program.

Two of the seven workable program requirements are

clearly within social work's sphere of competence. These are, first, the responsibility for rehousing adequately families displaced by urban renewal and other governmental activities, and second, the requirement of local citizen participation in as many of the seven objectives of renewal as it is possible to achieve.

The rehousing to be done by urban renewal requires social work skills since many of the persons to be relocated are either clients of agencies or could become ones if their shelter needs are not properly provided for. It is at the point of establishing standards for adequate rehousing that social planning should speak with authority. For more than a half century the vexing problem of relocation has been of concern to social work. Yet pitifully little of the experience social work has to offer in establishing standards to serve the troubled, the troublesome, the less articulate, the ill, and the old, who are to be rehoused by governmental programs, is being used. It is our responsibility to identify the skills that relocation requires if it is to go beyond the mere replacement of four walls and reach the core of rehabilitating the persons involved.

Failure to perform in this role for the rehousing work of urban renewal denies our expertise in the total planning process and in our day-to-day jobs as well. As long as professional social work is missing from relocation services, we are creating additional situations productive of the multiple-problem load that harbors deep and serious elements of individual frustrations and family breakdown. The existing pressures from this segment of community need, already pressing on social work, should serve to accelerate our efforts to prevent it by asserting leadership on behalf of skillful rehousing services.

The challenge to any community organization social worker in a metropolitan area where relocation is being carried on under governmental auspices is obvious. Agency experience backed by convinced citizen spokesmen must be marshaled to identify standards for social work content in relocation. These should be presented to the administrators responsible for the activity, so that the standards become incorporated in the rehousing program and professional social work practitioners are assigned to oversee their execution.

Citizen participation is the second of the seven workable program requirements wherein social work has a key contribution to make.

What is citizen participation in urban renewal? I like the definition given by William L. C. Wheaton, Director of the Institute of Urban Studies, University of Pennsylvania:

Urban renewal involves continued daily relationships with neighborhoods and people. People must participate in the development of neighborhood plans, must understand the need for such planning and the opportunities for neighborhood improvement available to them. These people are going to be asked to invest their money in their properties. Many of them are going to be moved to other areas. Many are going to be urged to stay when they might otherwise be moved.

Grass root participation in the process of urban renewal will not be secured by accident. It will take organized systematic, daily professional liaison between the many departments of City Hall and each neighborhood.¹

Social work's skill in understanding and securing the participation from those it serves, makes our profession

¹ William L. C. Wheaton, "Urban Renewal—the New American Frontier," *Issues*, published by the Philadelphia Housing Association (November-December, 1956), p. 4.

eminently qualified to secure the type of citizen participation urban renewal requires for its neighborhood efforts. Whether we are involved in programs of public assistance, child care centers, social settlements, family counseling agencies, hospital wards, summer camps, half-way houses, children's institutions, prison yards, or any other form of social service, the professional social worker uses participation by the client as the key to effective performance.

Real citizen participation is worth achieving for urban renewal, and social work needs to assert its concern regarding the quality of participation in most cities today. Group activity, through which individuals achieve social action, is still another level on which citizens perform, aided by social work's skill. We can point to changes in child labor laws, consumers benefits, court reforms, and improvements in public education, demanded by the public and brought about through group programs sparked by the profession's belief in, and aptitude for, citizen participation.

Urban renewal needs this brand of penetrating citizen participation. Indeed, many of its present troubles would be eliminated if urban renewal had practiced the quality of citizen participation its goals require. Why has social work permitted use of a huckster form of public relations to achieve citizen participation when it knows that getting the citizens who are the creators of urban blight to be partners in its solution requires an involvement of individuals, for which we have demonstrated proficiency?

With our concepts of working with, rather than for, people, community organization practitioners can make a substantial contribution to the community change which the citizen participation aspects of the urban renewal program aim to achieve. Again, we appear unready to identify

the issue, to speak with conviction, and to offer standards which will give citizen participation the benefit of our skills.

The two activities of urban renewal, citizen participation and rehousing; the reference to Philadelphia's experience in providing for recreation space; the illustrations of the need for standards in counseling, day care, group work, and other personal services; the demand for leadership on issues like the ADC program—all point to the variety of changes taking place in which social work has a stake. To meet the challenge they represent, the social worker must sight new and higher goals to be achieved through social planning.

What we are witnessing in community change is both breathtaking and sobering. From the social workers' point of view, much is unplanned in so far as health, welfare, and recreation services are being realistically encompassed. Yet this state of affairs is of our making. An accelerated effort to be partners in planning the changes becomes a goal for all of us. Today's users of social agencies and tomorrow's constituents of health, leisure, and counseling services require no less.

HOUSING, URBAN RENEWAL, AND SOCIAL WORK

by Elizabeth Wood

A KEY QUESTION of civilization today is the question of the character, quality, and function of cities. We are no longer members of an agricultural civilization, we are members of an urban civilization. The slums that spread despite recent demolitions and new constructions are evidence that we are ill-equipped to deal well with this kind of civilization.

Historically, slums have played a dual role in cities. They have been the landing fields of the newcomers. There, the newcomers got their first education in urban standards, through the schools, the newspapers, the stores, and the churches. As their standards improved and their economic status permitted, the up-and-coming moved outward into successively better neighborhoods, becoming more and more urbanized in the process. Usually the process took a generation or two.

Slums have also been the repository of those who were not up-and-coming. There the failures of our society could live in relative peace, obscurity, and anonymity. The desperately poor and disabled could suffer in obscurity without embarrassing the affluent. Social casework agencies could concentrate on case loads heavy with the middle-

class neurotic; specialized services could be administered to the individual in acute trouble without visits to his turbulent home; public assistance agencies could pay rents for clients in substandard housing, all in relative peace.

But the urban renewal process upset all this. *Because* it unhouses and must therefore relocate the total spectrum of slum dwellers, including the failures; *because* it had to use public housing for relocating some of the families, including the failures; *because* it hustled the unurbanized newcomer into public housing before the normal urbanizing process could take place, the urban renewal program has brought out into the public, naked and unconcealable, the failures of urban civilization.

The machinery that has been created to deal with the slum problem is the urban renewal machinery, of which public housing is a part. The quality of the solutions that are being devised is visible in the character of the local relocation program, the quality of public housing management and design, the quality of the civic, commercial, and cultural centers that arise on the sites of old slums, and the changes wrought in the areas adjacent to these new developments.

The local governing body, the mayor, local lending agencies, Federal and state agencies, the urban renewal agency, the planning commission, and the housing authority are all participating in the formulation of these solutions. Up to now, the social work profession has participated little if at all. What is the role of social work in the formulation of the solutions of the slum problem?

Already many people are saying that the machinery for urban renewal must include programs for "upgrading" people, to use the words of Ernest Fisher, an economist,

not a social worker.¹ His report to Norman Mason, Administrator to the Housing and Home Finance Agency, is notable for his emphasis on programs that "include both buildings and people." The recent Panuch report to the Mayor of New York City recommended social services in relocation. Similar plans are being considered in Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, D.C., and Cincinnati, to name a few places.

But putting the intent into program is a difficult matter, as these cities are finding out. If urban renewal is to include programs for "upgrading" people, these must be formulated with the advice and consent of social workers. But the development of a social work-urban renewal program is hindered by some inherent difficulties that the social workers and urban renewers have not yet jointly identified. Let me cite some.

First, both professions have staked out jurisdictions that are as sharply defined as those of pipefitters and plumbers in Chicago. A statement from the Subcommittee on Community Services and Public Housing of the Joint Committee on Housing and Welfare says that "the charge to public housing places the local authority in the position of a property manager and landlord,"² and that "expanding the property management function of a local housing authority to include the dispensing of social services runs the risk of obliterating the landlord status of the authority and subjugating the economic operation of the physical

¹ Ernest M. Fisher, *A Study of Housing Programs and Policies*, prepared for U.S. Housing Administrator Norman P. Mason (Washington, D.C.: Housing and Home Finance Agency, 1960), pp. 24, 33.

² "Preliminary Notes re: Report from Subcommittee on Community Services and Public Housing of Joint Committee on Housing and Welfare" (unpublished).

property."³ This language gets us nowhere. It expresses not only an impoverished and rigid concept of the jurisdiction of public housing management, but an abysmal lack of understanding of the content of social work.

The social work profession, unfortunately, consists of not just one jurisdiction, but a multiplicity of jurisdictions: the administration of financial assistance, family casework, medical social work, group work, and a dozen others which not only make trouble within the profession but make jurisdictional determinations with another profession almost impossible.

Second, each of the professions has what seems to be an invincible ignorance of the professional content of the other. However, it is certainly harder to understand the structure of the social work profession, its techniques and its goals, than to understand public housing.

"The original concept of housing management where management personnel was expected to recognize problems and make referral to the proper agency for analysis and treatment," to quote the same preliminary note, has failed completely to result in a productive relationship between the two professions. The reasons could only be explained by the social workers, out of their knowledge of the nature of such technical matters as the process of referring hardcore families, and their knowledge of the structure and limitations of their profession. But they have never explained these things adequately to those in housing, and the history of repeated failure to get a productive relationship has produced bewilderment, indignation, and sometimes something very close to contempt for social work on the part of many housing workers. This is not good for

³ *Ibid.*

the urban renewal program or for the social work profession. A conscientious director of urban renewal recently said to me, "I cannot get any help from the social agencies of this city. Is the answer for me to hire enough social workers so that the urban renewal agency can do the job itself?"

It seems to be that there should be social work programs in urban renewal relocation operations, in public housing, and in conservation operations. It is at these three points that the programs for upgrading people can become operative.

Failure to deal appropriately in the relocation process with the families who have problems has resulted in two kinds of damage:

1. Families whose ways of living are disorderly, who show patterns of crime or misbehavior, or who simply have bad housekeeping habits, do not automatically acquire either the incentive or the equipment to carry on a better way of living when they are transferred to a standard house. Public housers well know this, and private landlords are beginning to complain about the same thing. Too often they simply transfer to the new house the old way of living. This kind of transfer downgrades the house and does not upgrade the family. Relocation that relocates bad neighbors into good neighborhoods sows dragons' teeth. This is a fact we used to repudiate; we know better now.

2. Some people, especially the old or disabled, are deeply hurt and damaged by rehousing that disregards their infirmities or their dependence on old neighbors or near-by relatives for essentials of their daily living, whether physical or social.

Both kinds of hurt and damage are of concern to the

social work community, the first is of acute importance to the urban renewal director who would like to foresee some slowing down of the slum-creation process.

Public housing is a focal point of housing-social work programs for some simple but cogent reasons: it is responsible for rehousing site occupants among whom are families with problems; good housing is an essential of family rehabilitation; public housing is public, not private, and it must participate in a community program to the degree it can in pursuance of its charge. In the present context of public housing management—and because of failure to get the help needed from social workers—the reasons are more cogent to those who care for the over-all program than to public housing managers.

Social services are needed in conservation operations because the very essence of conservation is the removal of deteriorating elements, which are not just nonconforming zoning or delapidated buildings, but are also social and human in nature. Some of these elements are controllable by law, like the removal of houses of prostitution. But what do we do about the problem families, those that spoil buildings for nice people whether they live in public or private housing?

The problem of mobilizing housing-social resources is, I insist, basically one of administration. There are plenty of skills, plenty of knowledge. The problem is to get hold of them, organize them, administer them.

The services needed to deal with the problems that exist in a public housing project or on a relocation operation involve a whole constellation of jurisdictions and agencies. Someone must take on the job of developing a program out of this mess of jurisdictions. In one city, the leadership

was assumed by a family service bureau; in another, by a welfare council; in another, by a redevelopment coordinator; in still another, by the housing authority. It does not make any essential difference where leadership arises; but the first requirement of productive relationship is that it arises somewhere.

There are three steps to administrative solution: definition of the scope of the work, which is, in effect, definition of the social work to be done and the families to be served; identification of skills; assignment of responsibilities.

The first of these is the hardest to do. It begins with defining problem families. Housing managers, social workers, and relocators all define "problem" in a totally different context.

I asked a social worker responsible for a certain relocation operation the nature of the "problem" of one of his families. His response began, "Well, the mother is overprotective." The language of some social workers concerned with the diagnosis of families whose eligibility for public housing is questioned is replete with phrases about deprived childhood, rejection by parents, and so on. There is not a word in these diagnoses about what would concern a public housing manager: the housekeeping, rent paying, the way the children actually behave.

On the other hand, the definition of "problem" by housing managers is almost entirely within the context of a landlord, and is concerned primarily with housekeeping, rent paying, moral standards, cooperation, and compliance with regulations.

Thus the two professions are talking two different languages while they presume to tackle the job jointly. The

customary goals of the two professions are even farther apart.

It is folly to think of the goal of social work in any public housing or relocation context as consisting of the provision of total services for the total rehabilitation of all the members of all multiproblem families as well as solutions for all the lesser problems of other families. There are not enough services to do this job even if all the voluntary agencies give up all their present clientele and take on these families alone. Also, there is only a short span of time within which to work with families in the relocation process; some hard-core families cannot even be reached in this period. Some families cannot with profit to themselves or their neighbors be housed in public housing during the long period it takes social workers to help them achieve standards acceptable to their good neighbors.

Thus the goal of social work in urban renewal must be a more practical one. It is essential, in each community where a joint venture is being launched, that this matter of joint goal be discussed and clarified so that both professions understand it and accept it.

The minimum goal of social work in all three areas of urban renewal is to assure that the housing facility provided (whether in public housing or through relocation or conservation) is appropriate, and is equipped to serve the needs of the families.

This means, first, appropriate placement of persons too old or too disabled to maintain their own homes unaided. This means placement in specialized homes, or assurance that wherever they are housed there will be the services they need: help in shopping, help in getting a shampoo,

help in keeping the house clean. This sounds like a sub-minimum rather than a minimum standard; it sounds so obvious that it is impossible for a lay person to imagine public housing or relocation services ignoring it. Nevertheless, not only do such services not exist for old people in most public housing, they do not even exist in communities richly equipped with more technical services. So old people grow older and die of neglect or hunger, or grow dirty and pitiful without anyone knowing it. Moreover, as I found out recently, conscientious relocators will actually place such old people in decent, safe, and sanitary apartments—four flights up, blocks away from the old friends and relatives who used to visit them and do chores for them.

Second, a family capable of independence and acceptable standards—whether they move into public housing or anywhere else—must be given the furniture and household equipment that will give them reason to believe they are beginning a new life. Moving is not just a traumatic experience. It is to many, and it can be to more, the exciting beginning of better things. We must capitalize on this feeling.

Third, if the family moves into public housing, where sustained contact is possible, the family that is not quite independent and capable of reaching acceptable standards unaided must be given the equipment and the help necessary to achieve the standards in all the simple aspects of living: they should be helped to keep a clean house and to serve three meals a day; the children should go to school regularly.

Social work directed to this goal is, I believe, called "environmental" treatment in respected social work circles.

There are some social workers who are not interested in this goal. I should like to remind them I have called it a minimum goal, but it is, nevertheless, the goal that newcomers to the city acknowledge, and it is the goal which enables them to become acceptable members of urban society, or, if you will, of this middle-class society of ours. It is a goal understandable to persons with personality difficulties or even with mental limitations. Helping families to a goal they can understand and accept has proved in some cases to be the key to their willingness to accept help toward goals about which they are not so amenable—like not having any more illegitimate babies.

Actually, the wish for a better home and a better way of life lies close to the surface in many so-called "problem" families, especially where there are children growing up and becoming conscious of these middle-class standards. Often the families do not achieve them because of obstacles that, though not insurmountable, are more than they can handle alone: lack of furniture, or shame of broken-down and filthy furniture; lack of knowledge of how to budget their income; lack of the simple knowledge of how to keep things clean or what constitutes an acceptable standard of cleanliness. Some families can learn and achieve, but cannot sustain.

This goal can be achieved with more families if certain kinds of casework or other social treatment are available. There are families with problems that relocation or public housing uncovers which, if solved, permit a major change in the fabric of the family, or the community. I am thinking of a family where the relocation worker discovered a young girl in training to be a prostitute. I remember another family where the behavior of a mentally defective

youth had long wrecked the possibility of good family life.

A minimum goal might not include the provision of such services when the need is encountered in public housing, relocation, and conservation. But there should be clear understanding between the social work community and those in charge of urban renewal as to what kinds of treatment service the community is willing to provide.

A maximum goal would call for the attachment (not just referral, but the attachment) of every family needing treatment services to the appropriate treatment agency. Since 1960 is not the millennium, we will probably settle for less. There is, however, a minimum role that the social services agencies must play in regard to the housing of the most destructive families—those whose presence in any building, public or private, constitutes a problem. They must participate in the formulation of a sound housing program for such families. Should these families be sent to substandard housing, to public housing for training purposes, or be encouraged to get lost? These are the people who make slums, whose rehabilitation, in the long run, must be involved before the slums of cities are eradicated.

The second step in evolving a program is to determine the kinds of services needed for the families in this urban renewal context.

The first category includes diagnostic services. I have suggested different programs for people of different capacities. There is no alternative to using social workers for diagnosing individual capacities and needs. Their skills, insights, and knowledge of resources are essential. Social work for this purpose must be attached to the public housing operation, the relocation operation, and the conservation operation. This is not "providing social services," as

the housers would have it. It is providing the skill by means of which appropriate services can be identified and secured. It is the substitute for the old process in which an unknowing public housing manager referred an unwilling family to an inappropriate agency—a procedure which has not worked yet and cannot work.

The second category includes all the manifold services which the diagnostic process indicates that the families need to reach the accepted goal. These services fall into two crudely divided groups: social services in the usual sense, for the purposes agreed upon in the "scope of work"; second, the family-life, homemaking services referred to as "environmental" treatment.

Ironically, the homelier services in the second category are more difficult to get out of the normal social work community than are casework services. For these the public housing agency and relocation service will have to scrounge and contrive. Too often, public assistance budgets do not provide for even the most essential household equipment—dishes, chairs, curtains, pots and pans, sheets. Private family service agencies have minimum resources. Workshops or community centers where families can reupholster old furniture or make slipcovers or curtains are too often unavailable. Homemaking training—housekeeping, meal planning, budget training—is usually to be found only in very small amounts, in scattered agencies. I have found a handful of visiting housekeepers trained for educational work, in such divergent agencies as a visiting nurses association, a settlement house, a citizens' housing league, a public assistance bureau, and a board of education.

All these services are necessary if the families who are ill housed and ill furnished are to be equipped to achieve

excitement, pride, and joy in beginning a new life in a new home.

The third category is "hand-holding." Many families who can achieve a standard will default when attention is withdrawn from them. If continuing attention is not provided, the family has been the beneficiary of one more piece of wasted service. The objective is to sustain the good middle-class standards once achieved long enough that the children can grow up in that pattern.

This is, in fact, an inexpensive service and in the long run it is an economy. It can be furnished by other than professional service workers; it is easy to find a "hand-holder" in the public housing situation, and for families on public assistance wherever they live. It is not so easy to find one for the nonpublic assistance family living in private housing. It is essential, however, that one be provided for the families in conservation areas.

It is evident from even this short list of services that a wide number of agencies are involved in urban renewal-social work programs; it is obvious that not all the services need to be performed by professional social workers, although the direction must be provided by them. Again, I point out that the problem is one of administration.

Whatever the source of the leadership that inaugurates a local urban renewal-social work program, the elements that must be brought together to evolve the program are the same: the urban renewal agency; the public housing authority; the public assistance agency; and the public and private social agencies, including special departments that may be located in the board of education and the health department. The involvement if not the leadership of the health and welfare council is imperative.

The first objective in the evolution of a local program is to secure the attachment of a professional social worker to the public housing authority, to the urban renewal program at the relocation operation, and to the conservation operation if there is one. The quality of the social worker at these spots is of utmost importance. He must have administrative capacities. He must be able to talk to non-professionals like housing and site managers and housing and relocation assistants without reference to deprived childhoods and overprotective mothers and other linguistic jargon. He must have a respect for environmental treatment. He must be willing to use the skills of housing managers and assistants and relocation assistants. He must know how to scrounge for secondhand furniture or know how to get someone else to do it. He must be an expert diagnostician. He must be so respected by the social workers in the treatment agencies that not only will they work with him in the evolution of the program, but they will gladly provide some of the treatment services his families need. Within the terms of the mutually determined goals, he will refer families to these agencies for help.

The second objective is to establish as policy, and administratively, the relationship of this social worker to the general relocation staff or the public housing management staff. This is not simple. Most of the people in public housing or on a site do not need his services. Most of the services that make for humane relocation or good adjustment to public housing standards are simple and can be performed by housing managers, assistants, and relocation assistants. You have only to talk to some of these untrained people to find out how warmly and humanly some of them do their tasks. But they could do them better—and the job

is too big to do it without enlisting their help—if they were guided by someone who has the insights and understanding of resources of a professionally equipped social worker. As a matter of fact, the social worker will only have a chance to work with the people brought to his attention by these nonprofessional workers. They will bring him the right people only if communication is good. This all means that the position of the social worker administratively must be such that he can share (and this time I use the word in the direct, nonlingo sense) his knowledge and insights with these nonprofessional workers.

The third objective is the enlargement of the function of public assistance in the urban renewal-social work framework. This is happening in many communities, in different forms: increased rent payments to assure that clients are relocated into standard housing; enlarged budgets to permit relocatees to be equipped with minimum homemaking equipment, including furniture; expansion of social services. Urban renewal is a public program, and the role of the public assistance agencies is of prime importance.

The fourth objective is to establish the mechanism for the involvement of the whole roster of public and private treatment agencies. In a large city, the involvement will of necessity have to be at two levels: top administrative, for evolving city-wide policies and program; local, for dealing with specific cases and problems. The function of these committees is twofold: to confront the social work community with the social problems that arise in urban renewal so that city-wide policy as to the social goals of urban renewal is in part of their making; and to secure from the social work community the treatment services that are required in achieving the goals.

FINANCING SOCIAL WELFARE SERVICES

I. THE OVER-ALL VIEW

by Ida C. Merriam

QUESTIONS OF FINANCING—whether they arise in a family unit, a voluntary association, a nation, or the international community—present at least two facets. Where and how can we get money—preferably more money—to spend? How shall we spend the money we have or can get? The answers to the two questions are always interrelated. The link between the purpose of an expenditure and the method of financing is particularly important when what one is looking at is the balance sheet of society as a whole.

Basically, the financing of welfare services is a problem in the allocation of resources. Among the characteristics of a good society is that elusive but persistent concept of a fair division of the available product. Such a division takes into account the needs of the young, the old, the sick and disabled, as well as the right of the worker to a fair return for his labor, and the need of the community for capital investment, for social planning and facilities if urban living is to be tolerable, and for education and research to continue the expansion of scientific knowledge on which our society is based.

The methods used in our kind of society to determine the allocation of resources are complex. In relation to the financing of social welfare services, we need to consider primarily these: (1) selection and payment for goods or services by the consumer, with the money coming from current employment, from individual savings or borrowing, or from publicly or privately organized income-maintenance programs; (2) the varying bases of financial support of these same income-maintenance programs; and (3) the provision of services by private and public agencies to designated groups in the population without direct payment by the recipient at the time, and the varying sources of private and public funds used to support such services.

At the outset, we need some working definition of social welfare services. Clearly, we do not mean all programs or arrangements that contribute to social welfare. In some contexts, the term "social services" implies services provided through governmental action, that is, by society as a whole rather than by individuals or private groups. When so used it ordinarily includes public education and public programs and activities which raise the level of living for everyone by making the community more livable. For present purposes, I shall narrow the definition, on the one hand, to omit education and to encompass only services provided directly to individuals, and, on the other hand, broaden it to include similar health and welfare services provided by private groups and agencies.

Income-maintenance programs.—When the non-self-supporting members of society were taken care of by the family and the clan, the relationship was not thought of in terms of a welfare service. It became such when religious organizations, guilds, and voluntary associations found it

necessary to take over the care of those who lacked the appropriate family ties. Public assistance for individuals and families who for one reason or another had insufficient income to support themselves at a minimum level brought the entire community into this aspect of social welfare. With the invention of social insurance, the provision of a regular continuing income to retired persons and others who suffer a loss of earned income was placed on a semi-automatic basis. Social insurance is now so necessary a part of the economic and institutional structure of all industrialized societies that perhaps it should soon be regarded as having only the same indirect (though vitally important) relation to social welfare as do wage and employment policies. I hope that its adequacy will never cease to be a matter of concern to all persons interested in social welfare whether broadly or narrowly defined. For purposes of this discussion, social insurance programs will be included as one of the larger segments of current social welfare financing.

How do we finance the various organized public and private programs through which money income is channeled to the nonworking groups in the population? First and foremost, now, through social insurance. The national Old Age, Survivors, and Disability Insurance (OASDI) program will have paid out in fiscal 1960 more than \$11 billion to almost 14 million individuals: retired and disabled workers, their families, and widows and orphans. Including also the special railroad and public employee retirement programs, unemployment insurance, workmen's compensation, and temporary sickness insurance in the four states that have such programs, total social insurance benefits in fiscal 1960 will amount to almost \$19 billion. These programs

are financed from special earmarked taxes, paid in part by employees or self-employed persons and in part by employers. Current benefit payments and current contributions under these programs taken together are now approximately in balance.

This method of financing, and its psychological linking of benefit rights and contributions paid by the beneficiary or on his behalf, has many advantages. It provides an assured revenue source, as well as a recognized and objective basis for determining eligibility to benefits. It also has some disadvantages, most importantly the danger that the dollar amounts written into statutes will not be changed often or quickly enough to reflect changing price and wage levels. The whole program may thus become less and less adequate without any clear realization on the part of policy-makers or citizens generally of what is happening.

Two other major public income-maintenance programs are financed from general governmental revenues. The oldest, the veterans program, will distribute about \$3.4 billion of Federal funds in fiscal 1960 in veterans compensation and pension payments. Slightly more, \$4 billion, will be spent through public assistance for the maintenance of needy persons. The public assistance payments—including general assistance as well as old-age assistance, aid to the blind, aid to the permanently and totally disabled, and aid to dependent children—are financed about half by the Federal Government and half by state and local governments. More than 10 percent of the total comes from local revenues. In 1958 there were twenty states in which 50 percent or more of expenditures for general assistance came from local revenues.

Most persons who have considered the question think it

is preferable to have decisions as to who is needy made in the states, with each state setting its own standards for assistance. On the other hand, the localities where the need for assistance is greatest are those least able to raise the necessary funds. Furthermore, our Federal tax system is, by and large, more closely related to ability to pay than are the state or the local tax systems. In addition, the tax yields of the major revenue sources of state and local governments—particularly real estate and sales taxes—do not increase as rapidly with economic growth as do the yields of the individual and corporate income taxes of the Federal Government.

The Federal grant-in-aid for state programs, such as public assistance, makes it possible to draw in part on Federal revenues while retaining state and local administration. One of the major questions of public finance policy that we will have to face in this next decade is the basis on which Federal funds should be distributed to the states for those programs that we prefer not to develop on a uniform national basis. The question relates in part to the services for which Federal grants should be available. Should Federal revenues be used, for instance, to help finance assistance for all needy persons? Even with Federal aid, however, there would remain large differences in the level of adequacy of the services that could be provided if every state took in taxes the same proportion of the incomes of its people. If we want to bring up the level of public services of all kinds in the poorer states, we may need to find some new device to direct a larger proportion of Federal funds to those states.

Within the past twenty years we have seen the rapid development of income-maintenance programs organized and

financed on a different basis. Employee benefit plans developed unilaterally by employers or by unions and employers through collective bargaining will pay out about \$3.4 billion in fiscal 1960. About \$1.5 billion will represent retirement benefits and \$1 billion, life insurance payments supplementing OASDI and the other public retirement programs. Supplemental unemployment benefits may amount to \$80 million and temporary disability benefits in those states where there is no social insurance program covering this risk may reach \$750 million.

Employee benefit plans stand somewhere between direct consumer payment for service and statutory publicly financed programs with respect to such characteristics as individual choice in the use of funds, compulsory participation, and degree of subsidization by other members of society. The individual worker has little more to say about the details of the benefit package negotiated by his union representatives than he does about the benefit package worked out by his representatives in the state legislature or in Congress. While there is great diversity in detail among employee benefit plans, they all follow one of a few general patterns. The individual worker may be able to show some preference for one or another type of employee benefit plan in selecting a job. The obverse of this fact, however, is that the growing importance of employee benefit plans may make it increasingly difficult for workers to move freely from one job or one corporation to another. It may also lead to a sharper differentiation between two classes of workers—those who stay with one employer for most of their working lifetime and as a result accumulate substantial benefit rights, and those who provide the mobile part of the labor force or work in small establishments and

who must rely entirely on the social insurance programs for their retirement or other income-maintenance benefits.

Employee benefit plans are financed by contributions from either the worker or the employer or both. Where the individual has some choice regarding the benefits—such as a decision whether or not to have his dependents covered for health insurance or an option to buy additional retirement credits—he ordinarily pays some or all of the cost of such benefits. Increasingly, however, employee benefit plans are being financed by employer contributions. Of the \$5 billion set aside for private pension plans in fiscal 1960, 85 percent will come from employer contributions. There are no available estimates as to what part of the total contributions of \$11.3 billion for all types of employee benefits, including health benefits, will be paid by employers. Nor do we have any estimate of the size of the tax subsidy that results from the fact that employer contributions are business expenses for tax purposes, and a large and profitable corporation can, therefore, finance an employee benefit plan at a direct cost of considerably less than fifty cents on the dollar.

Finally, to round out our account of the organized income-maintenance programs in our society, there are the small—but in some individual situations vitally important—amounts that are spent by private agencies for cash relief. Few social agencies now give cash assistance on a continuing basis; some do provide emergency help. Most of the approximately \$225 million spent from philanthropic funds in fiscal 1958 for income maintenance was used for institutional care.

Public expenditures for institutional care, other than care in hospitals and other medical institutions, were some-

what more than half again as large—about \$380 million—in fiscal 1958. Some \$50 million of the public monies went for veterans domiciliary care, and about \$125 million to pay for foster family care, primarily for children.

Health and medical services.—Let us turn now to another type of welfare service. Health and medical services provided through public or organized charitably oriented programs are generally grouped with social welfare services, even when that term is fairly narrowly defined. Perhaps this is because of the close association of poverty and illness and the need for social service agencies to concern themselves with the health and medical problems of the disadvantaged groups whom they are trying to help. In this area of health care, we are clearly in a transitional period. Thirty years ago, about 85 percent of all medical services were bought and paid for directly by the individual or his family at the time he received the care. Somewhat more than half of all personal health care is still financed in this way. Private insurance and prepayment arrangements, virtually nonexistent before 1940, now account for a little less than a fifth of all medical care expenditures. About three fourths of the health insurance written in recent years has been under employee benefit plans.

Public funds now provide about one fourth of all health expenditures in the United States, including expenditures for medical research, general public health activities, and hospital construction. Looking only at expenditures for personal health care, public funds pay for one fifth of the total, a little more than is covered by private insurance. Some of the public funds are used to provide services in public hospitals—veterans, military, mental, tuberculosis, and general hospitals. The public funds also support maternal and child

health clinics, school health facilities, and other services. A considerable amount of public money is used to purchase care from private hospitals and from doctors and other providers of service—for public assistance recipients, for crippled children, for veterans in some circumstances, and for other special groups.

Philanthropic contributions provide about one fourth of the funds going into the construction of medical facilities, but a very small fraction of the total private expenditures for health. The proportion of all philanthropic funds going to health agencies has, however, been increasing.

To give some idea of the dollar amounts involved, we estimate that over-all this country will spend in fiscal 1960 close to \$26 billion for health purposes. About \$1 billion will be used for construction of hospitals, clinics, and other facilities, with about half of this money coming from public funds and half from private sources. Of the almost \$24 billion used for personal health care, perhaps \$13 billion will be in the form of consumer payments to doctors, hospitals, and other providers of service; between \$3.5 and \$4 billion will be paid for health insurance under employee benefit plans; and a little over \$1 billion for individually purchased insurance. About \$500 million may come from philanthropic contributions to national health agencies, community chests, hospital sustaining funds, and social agencies. About \$4.7 billion will come from public funds. Almost all the public funds now used for health purposes come from general revenues. One of the current issues, of course, is whether we should turn to social insurance as the basis for financing a public program covering some of the costs of medical services for aged persons.

Social services.—Turning next to the social services in the

narrow meaning of the term we move into an area of a somewhat different kind. The need for income-maintenance and medical services is universal. There is a strong pressure, therefore, for public programs to assure universal protection most effectively and most equitably.

The need for social adjustment services, on the other hand, is concentrated in specific groups in the population. Our knowledge as to the effective use of such services is still so limited that we cannot say surely where the boundaries of need may be, but certainly there will always be such boundaries.

Community services such as homemaker services, day care centers for the children of working mothers or for old persons, as well as recreational and similar services, may be needed in all communities of any size. Increasing recognition of such needs is beginning to bring demands for public support. The future pattern of organization of such community services is still far from clear, however.

For needy families who receive public assistance, some casework services—of varying scope and quality in different localities—are available through the assistance program. Increasing emphasis is being placed in the public assistance programs on services to help families regain independence. It is difficult to separate the cost of casework services from the cost of determining need and eligibility for assistance. A rough estimate of the amount spent this year for salaries of staff dealing directly with assistance recipients would be in the neighborhood of \$200 million. About \$200 million in public funds will be spent for child welfare services in fiscal 1960, including payments for foster family care. A little over \$80 million in public funds will go into vocational rehabilitation and about \$160 million into welfare services for

veterans. Additional sums of public money are spent for social services in the schools, in the courts and penal institutions, or in connection with public recreation programs, but no estimate of the amount is available.

Voluntary agencies will probably spend about a billion dollars from philanthropic contributions for welfare services this year, or somewhat more than was spent from public funds for social work services. The privately financed services include family services and child care, services for the handicapped, sheltered workshops, maternity home care, institutional care for the aged, and recreation and leisure-time activities. The most recent year for which we have detailed estimates as to the purposes for which philanthropic contributions were used is 1955. In that year about 35 percent of the total for welfare services went to family service and child care agencies. Ten years earlier more than half had gone to such agencies. Limited information on allocations by community chests and united funds in the years since 1955 suggests that there has been a continuing decline in the share (though not in the total dollars) going to family agencies.

During the same period, there has been an increase in the funds and in the share of total contributions for welfare purposes going to recreation agencies and agencies providing other leisure-time services. In some instances, these agencies provide recreational opportunities primarily to children of low-income families. A growing number are working with children of all income groups.

Partly in an attempt to extend their services to persons in all income groups who might benefit from them and partly, I assume, to meet the pressures of rising costs and demands, many social agencies have in recent years charged something

for their services to those who could afford to pay. We have no national data as to the extent of fee-charging. In 1955, in twenty-three urban areas for which information is available, fees accounted for 18 percent of all private agency expenditures for family services and care of children, and for a third of the funds used for recreation and group work services.

Private social service agencies may also receive part of their income from public funds, either in the form of grants or through the purchase of service by the public program. Again, the little information we have comes from special studies made in twenty-three cities in 1955. In that year, private agencies providing social adjustment services received 8 percent of their total income from public funds. In the case of children's agencies nearly one fifth of their total income was from public funds. A recent report of the Family Service Association indicates that in 1958, 5 percent of the combined gross budget of all their member agencies came from public funds, almost entirely in the form of reimbursement for specified services.

Reversing the picture, we can look at the portion of all public expenditures for particular purposes that went to private agencies. In 1955, in the cities studied, payments to private agencies represented 38 percent of all public expenditures for institutional care of dependent children, 16 percent of all public expenditures for family services and foster home care, and 100 percent of the maternity home care provided from public funds.

In order to draw together and summarize such facts with regard to the financing of social welfare services as it has been possible to cover I come back to the concept of the way in which, as a society, we allocate our total resources.

First we might note that as those resources have increased, we have allotted an increasing share of the total to social welfare services. Public expenditures for social welfare purposes, as I have been defining the term here, represented a little over one percent of our total national output at the turn of the century, less than 2 percent in 1929. We will use 6.7 percent of a much larger output for publicly financed welfare services in fiscal 1960. The growth in social insurance was the main factor, although there has also been a small increase in the share of our total output going into health services paid for through general tax revenues. Since 1935 the share going to public assistance has declined, and that used for other welfare services has remained steady. Perhaps I should emphasize that I am talking about the shares of an expanding total. The actual dollar amounts used for these various purposes, even when corrected for changes in the price level, have increased and for most programs increased substantially.

Concurrently, of course, the number of persons benefiting from these programs has increased. At present, about three fourths of all persons aged sixty-five or over—almost twelve million persons—get some or all of their current income from social insurance or veterans benefits. Another 11 percent are primarily dependent on public assistance. Payments under all public income-maintenance programs probably represent close to 40 percent of the aggregate income of all aged persons. The number of children, disabled persons, and others benefiting from the publicly financed welfare programs has also increased more than has their number in the total population.

The amount of money channeling through employee benefit plans has also grown rapidly in recent years. In fiscal

1960 contributions to such plans represented 4 percent of total wages and salaries. Close to 1.5 million persons now receive private pensions, usually in addition to benefits under OASDI.

With increasing prosperity, the American people have used more of their larger personal incomes for charitable purposes. Individual philanthropic contributions represented a little over one percent of total disposable personal income in 1930 (that is, income remaining after payment of income taxes) and about 2 percent in 1959, it is estimated. Total philanthropic contributions, including those from corporations and bequests, increased from \$1.2 billion in 1930 to \$7.8 billion in 1959. While the major share of individual contributions (nearly two thirds in 1958) goes to religious agencies, that proportion is declining and the share going to health and welfare agencies is increasing as more people have larger incomes on which to draw.

As between health and welfare agencies, the trend has been toward an increasing proportion for health. The large national health agencies have grown particularly rapidly. Total health expenditures today, including direct consumer payments, take a share of our total national output almost 50 percent larger than was the case in 1929. With the development of scientific medicine during and since the Second World War, there is a new kind of service to be bought, and it should not be surprising if still more resources are used for medical care and health services in the coming decade.

One further relationship may be worth noting. Leaving aside social insurance benefits financed from earmarked taxes or contributions, social welfare expenditures today represent a smaller proportion of all governmental expenditures

from general revenues (12 percent) than was the case in 1929 (when the proportion was 17 percent). While social welfare programs supported by general taxation have grown, defense-related expenditures and, recently, expenditures for such purposes as highways, urban redevelopment, and education have grown faster.

The financing of social welfare services in the coming decade, we may safely assume, will continue to reflect in part changing needs, in part public understanding of alternative ways in which needs can be met, and, above all, conscious or unconscious decisions as to social priorities in the use of our capacities and resources.

II. TRENDS AND PROBLEMS

by Robert H. MacRae

IN THE BEST OF TIMES, in the worst of times, the task of financing social welfare services is a continuing burden of anxiety. No problem is more pervasive. No problem is more compelling in its demands for attention. Continuing consideration of financing problems is inevitable and essential. It may be helpful to consider the subject by means of a series of propositions.

1. Under normal circumstances, expenditures for social welfare may be expected to increase in the years ahead.

There is nothing particularly exciting or noteworthy about this proposition. Rapid increase in population makes an increase in services inevitable. Furthermore, when that growth tends to be concentrated in the group under twenty

years of age and over sixty years of age, the demand for services will be accelerated. Add to these facts the further fact of growing urbanization of the United States and we add a potent factor for increase of services. The merciless friction of urban life can be kept under control only by the lubrications of an adequate social welfare system.

2. The social welfare structure will continue to be a "mixed economy" of public and voluntary effort.

The enormously increased expenditures for social welfare by government in the last twenty-five years have not resulted in a diminution of voluntary effort. On the contrary, the voluntary agencies have also grown markedly during the past twenty-five years. Those alarmists who saw only doom for voluntary agencies in the increase of governmental intervention can stop wringing their hands. Human compassion did not dry up, creative voluntary effort did not come to an end when public assistance programs came into being. There is no apparent reason why this partnership of public and voluntary effort should not continue in the years ahead.

I must confess, however, that there is a problem which gives me great uneasiness in this public-voluntary relationship. This is the absence of clear and generally accepted guiding principles for determining the appropriate division of responsibility between government and voluntary auspices. When this question is raised quick answers are offered to say that all is well. It is said that government carries responsibility for mass programs and the provision of costly physical facilities. Voluntary agencies undertake the experimental and pioneering work and concern themselves with programs for the preservation and extension of cultural values. Close examination, however, proves that these distinctions simply are not true. Some voluntary agencies are

attempting broad coverage programs. Some public agencies are engaged in creative, pioneering efforts. Part of the strength of our system is its capacity for adjustment and the avoidance of rigidity. At the same time, these adjustments ought to be made within the framework of clearly understood guide lines. As it is, we find voluntary agencies running to government for subsidy when financing is difficult without apparent awareness of the implications of that subsidy on the life of the agency. The result is that we have voluntary agencies in this country so completely dependent upon government that they are voluntary agencies in name only. In fact, they are little more than agents of government. The distinctive function of voluntarism cannot be exercised under these circumstances. Most certainly, such an agency cannot exercise the gadfly function of constructive criticism of public services.

All of this is not to say that contributed money is good money and tax money is bad. Far from it. It is to say that it is high time we clarify with some intensive cerebration the appropriate divisions of responsibility between government and voluntary effort. If we have proper guide lines we can make decisions on the basis of principle rather than on the urgency of the hour.

3. While we can anticipate that the demand for social welfare services will continue to rise, we can also take comfort in the fact that the financial resources available to the nation will also increase.

This is not to say that if we just sit quietly the needed additional funds will descend on us as manna from heaven. It is to say that the financial resources will not remain constant while needs rise or that we will be compelled to fight for a larger share of a fixed sum. In 1960 the gross national

product (GNP) of the United States will approximate \$500 billion. Economists talk confidently of a GNP of between \$700 and \$900 billion by 1975. The difference lies in the estimate of the annual rate of growth. Since 1953 the rate of growth has averaged 2.3 percent annually as compared with an annual rate of 4.7 percent from 1947 to 1953. A rate of 4.5 percent would result in a GNP of \$971 billion by 1975. This is approximately double the 1959 GNP. The average rate of increase of 4.5 percent should not be an impossible goal for this nation. Countries with such radically different economic systems as Mexico, Japan, West Germany, and the Soviet Union have achieved rates of growth in recent years in excess of 6 percent annually.

Certainly it is not entirely speculative to contemplate a trillion-dollar GNP well before the end of the century. The concept of trillions is probably not within the comprehension of any of us. When I compare it with a GNP of approximately \$36 billion in 1932 I can only realize the trend is upward in a breathtaking climb. To use John K. Galbraith's expressive phrase, we live in an "affluent society" and one that is becoming more affluent each year. This means, in effect, that this nation has more and more disposable income available after meeting the essential costs of food, shelter, clothing, government, and expansion of the economy.

4. Social welfare will face stiff competition for its fair share of the expanded GNP.

It requires no particular prophetic gifts to state this proposition with confidence. The sources of the competition for both the tax dollar and the contributed dollar are evident to all. In spite of its insanity, for a long time to come, we

must spend enormous sums for military preparations. The new weapons are fantastically expensive and their rate of obsolescence high. At the same time, the conventional armaments must be maintained as well. It is utopian thinking to expect a significant reduction in these expenditures in the near future.

A second major source of competition for dollars lies in the field of urban renewal. So far as I know, the dimensions of the problem of urban rebuilding have not been calculated. The fact is that American cities are sick and facing staggering problems of renewal, improved transportation, and housing. These critical problems are aggravated by the tidal wave of urbanization of American society. The tax base of many American cities is not adequate to finance these enormously costly rebuilding programs. Other levels of government must participate more adequately if the job is to be done. And it must be done.

The third major source of competition is from the field of education. The problems facing education have been so widely publicized that the case need not be further developed here. The problems facing the elementary and secondary public school systems are already upon us. The impact on the colleges of the nation will become more fully evident in the 1960s and early 1970s. It has been estimated that during the next ten years this nation must spend \$20 billion just for additions to the physical plants of the public schools. Other billions will be necessary for added salaries, educational supplies, and maintenance. The tax-supported and private colleges alike face large building programs. The private colleges have the necessity of increasing their endowments as well as stimulating giving for annual operating

costs. Many tax-supported colleges and universities have also developed annual appeals to alumni for supplementation of operating budgets.

Harvard recently completed successfully an \$82 million campaign to enlarge its endowment. This is an augury of things to come. Let me illustrate this trend with figures recently released by the American Association of Fund Raising Counsel, Inc. In the years between 1939 and 1959 private gifts for current purposes for higher education totaled \$1,710,035,582 for an annual average of \$85 million. In the year 1939-40 such gifts totaled approximately \$40 million. It is not unreasonable to assume that the level of giving will continue to rise as the impact of increased enrollments is more fully apparent.

During the first three months of 1960 the American Association of Fund Raising Counsel, Inc., listed thirty gifts and five bequests each of one million dollars or more which totaled \$102,222,000. Of this total \$45,326,000 was given for education; \$33,296,000, for medicine and science; and \$22,600,000, for health and welfare. Note that the gifts for education were double the amount for health and welfare.

5. Within some limitations, financing of social welfare services depends upon a state of mind.

This may seem to be an absurd statement. Nevertheless, I am prepared to defend it as true. After we meet the cost of certain inescapable items, we dispose of the balance of our income in accordance with our value system and our state of mind. Some of us keep essential expenditures to a stark minimum and then scrimp and save every cent possible for future security. Others of us live well in the here and now with only casual thoughts of the future. Some of us attempt to enrich and deepen the quality of life by generous

expenditures for cultural advantages in education, travel, music, and the theater. Others search for satisfactions in the purchase of fine cars and boats, in big-game hunting and other sports. The point is that after we have met the cost of essential needs for food, shelter, clothing, and medical care our sense of values and our state of mind determine where our money goes.

This fact is just as true for the nation as a whole as it is for the individuals who make up the nation. Let me illustrate. The present Federal Administration is one which proudly declares itself to be financially conservative in policy. Several years ago this Administration secured the adoption of a \$45 billion highway building program. This is undoubtedly the most costly public works program in human history. It is already clear that the cost will far exceed the original estimate, and the President has asked the Congress for additional taxes to sustain the program. The impact of this program on the economy of the nation is now and will continue to be enormous. This same Administration opposes increasing the minimum wage to \$1.25 and regards increase in social security payments as inflationary and a threat to the economy. Obviously, there is an inconsistency here. What makes the difference? In the first place, the owners of 70 million motor vehicles endorse the idea of better roads and seem ready to pay the additional taxes necessary. They are supported by the auto industry, the cement and construction industries. These voters and these industries are forces to which the Congress listens with respectful attention. Any concerns about inflation are smoothed in visions of happy voters driving on magnificent highways which make jobs for millions. Furthermore, roads are seen as an addition to national defense and as a positive

addition to the wealth of the nation. In contrast, social welfare expenditures are viewed as a dead loss, a drain on the economy which is extending the "welfare state." Roads are good; the "welfare state" is bad. Do I make my point? A state of mind has determined the national policy and the ability to pay for it. This is not a condemnation of this Administration. It is simply an illustration of how the human mind operates in rationalizing financial expenditures.

The state of mind also governs the support of voluntary social welfare. It is probably even more true here than for the public services. Generally speaking, voluntary social work is believed to be a "good thing" by the public at large. Unhappily, however, support is thought to be an optional matter. Benevolence is an approved mode of conduct, but it is indulged in out of surplus funds and not as a primary obligation. These are harsh judgments, but they are just judgments of many contributors. Giving ought to be done in order to further social justice. Unhappily, for many it is a matter of condescension toward the unfortunate. Many give in order to feel good about helping people. Others support voluntary agencies on the theory that their gifts will help keep the government from further "invasions" of the welfare field. Obviously, these are inadequate bases for adequate voluntary giving.

Now, if you accept my proposition that, within limits, the state of mind governs support of health and welfare services we need to turn our attention to the cultivation of a more positive state of mind in the public at large. This brings me to my final proposition.

6. More adequate financing of health and welfare services, public and private, is dependent upon the creation of

better understanding and more positive attitudes about the significance of these services.

In other words, dependence on benevolent attitudes is not enough. Adequate financing can only be based in a more profound understanding and a deeper conviction about the essentiality of health and welfare services. If we are to deepen this public understanding the process must begin with those of us who occupy positions of leadership in health and welfare services. What is our conception of the significance of these services for a good society? Do we view them solely from the point of view of benevolences? Is the purpose to help people learn the joy of sharing by helping the unfortunate and thus deposit credits in some celestial bank account? Is the purpose only that of binding wounds and easing human burdens? Is it only a genial humanitarianism that motivates the provision of social services?

I do not condemn these attitudes. I suggest, however, they are not good enough. They do not go deep enough. They are the points at which most of us begin our commitment to this field of service. I hope our growth does not stop at this point. My own pilgrimage has been a hard and sometimes painful one. The older I grow the more clear it becomes that the great creative principle in life is the urge for fulfillment. There are, however, many impediments which stand in the way of this urge for fulfillment. Some of the impediments are in the society around us. Others lie within us. It seems to me, therefore, that the great central purpose of social welfare services is to aid human personalities find fulfillment. We do so by helping people overcome the impediments which thwart that divine urge for fulfillment. This is no small goal we set for ourselves. It is an exalted

purpose. It is this high purpose which keeps us restless until we have made our maximum effort to provide the services which enable people to realize their potentialities. If we hold this concept we cannot regard social services as optional. We will be continuously impatient with a dime-on-the-tambourine concept of financing.

In our society private wants are created by advertising, and planned obsolescence is justified as a means of keeping production at a high level. There are also public wants in the form of schools, hospitals, and social services which are essential to a good society. Yet, as Galbraith reminds us, we are unable to satisfy these public wants because of a social mythology that regards public services as nonproductive and a drain on the economy. In a society as rich as ours it is high time that we develop the public sector of services. This can come. The skills to accomplish it are available. It will come, however, only as we are clear and articulate about the significance of health and welfare services. The technicians who develop public opinion are dependent upon us to formulate our position and to conceive our purposes. Only then can they go to work with a clear sense of direction.

There are, however, preliminary steps we can take while formulating the necessary consensus. A first step is to put at an end the stupid cleavage between public and voluntary social work. There is fault on both sides. All too frequently, voluntary agencies regard public agencies as crude mass programs with primitive standards, operated by untrained workers tainted by politics. All too frequently, public agencies regard voluntary agencies as pipsqueak enterprises, commanding attention out of all proportion to their value and operated by neurotic workers serving neurotic clients. On

too many occasions there is open hostility between the two groups. Rather generally, there is failure to make common cause. Unfortunately, this stupidity is compounded when some fund raisers sell their campaigns on the basis that failure to support voluntary effort will only lead to greater government intervention. This is very close to an immoral act. Social work is of one fabric. The auspices are many but the central purpose is one—serving human need. The sooner we accept this fact, the more rapidly we will build a stronger social welfare system.

A second step is to bring to an early end the current internecine conflict between the federated fund raisers and the independents. It does neither side credit. The public is beginning to mutter "A plague on both your houses." The continuance of this unseemly warfare damages public respect for the social welfare enterprise. It is time for a truce even if a peace treaty is not possible now.

A third step is the development of more imaginative efforts on the part of public agencies to involve private citizens. One of the great strengths of the voluntary system has been its ability to involve hundreds of thousands of individuals in agency affairs. This has been a necessity. Public agencies, with what has appeared to be a less compelling need for public support, have been slow to involve citizen leaders in a meaningful way. It is high time this was done in order to build a public opinion which supports adequate financing.

One final observation. Much of our effort in interpretation fails because of a lack of clarity. We scatter our fire and confuse rather than enlighten the public. As I suggested earlier, we must have a clear sense of our goals and then we must help people identify themselves with those

goals. Social welfare will gain in status when we discipline its sentimentalism and communicate adequately its significance to a good society. Our task is as simple as this. Alas, it is as difficult as this also.

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COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION FOR THE AGING IN RURAL AREAS

by *Bernard E. Nash*

THE PRINCIPLES of community organization in rural areas are no different from those in metropolitan areas. Similarly, community organization to meet the needs of the elderly is no different from that for any other age group. However, there are certain problems which are more frequently encountered in rural community organization for the aging than in metropolitan areas. These comments are based on four years of experience in Minnesota during which we have organized 23 county committees on aging, 142 golden age clubs, 9 annual hobby shows, several friendly visiting programs, and other projects that utilize community volunteers.

One of the problems encountered is the hesitancy of established institutions to expand into new areas of service. Churches, schools, welfare agencies, agricultural extension offices, and the like are not geared to rapid change and are frequently unsure of what will be the public's reaction to change if it is undertaken. Compounding this difficulty is the fact that the organizer in rural areas is usually an outsider who is dependent upon local agency personnel to provide guidance, leadership, and knowledge in the initiation of new projects. Hence, "starting where the community is" often calls for the development of factual data on local problems and possible solutions by an outsider.

A second major factor in rural community organization is the lack of established channels for communication between resource agencies. Few very small communities have councils of social agencies, community information centers, or chambers of commerce. Nearly all physical and social planning rests with the county commissioners. In a small town, citizens as well as professional personnel frequently are not familiar with the social agencies of the area. Thus, adherence to the principle of "involving the total community" must often be preceded by an intensive educational campaign on an individual contact basis to help the community become informed of its own needs and resources.

A third influence in rural community organization which bears mentioning is the stereotyped notions we hold about life in the country: "There aren't as many problems facing the older person in rural communities." Or, "There is more sensitivity to human need and more neighborliness among rural folk." Or, "The church is the center of social life."

Stereotypes do not take into account differences between communities or the changing practices and values which are constantly taking place within a given community. This means that the principle of "objectivity in determining needs, power structure, resources, etc., for planning requires awareness of, and caution to avoid, possible bias in the organizer's personal attitudes and in the decision-making process.

A final problem of significance to the rural community organizer is the scarcity of resources. This includes leadership as well as facilities. Usually, those citizens with sufficient interest and talent for leadership are already involved in a multitude of projects. This means that observance of the

principle of "fullest possible utilization of existing resources" requires a creative approach in the adaptation of that which is available.

Minnesota's program operates on specific basic assumptions which take into account the problems I have mentioned. These assumptions are:

1. The major problem in "problems of the aging" is that of society's attitude, for the loss of social roles or the sense of uselessness or the economic plight of the aging are key issues only in relation to a social atmosphere which permits such situations to arise.

2. The function of community organization is that of creating opportunities for all citizens to meet the challenges of daily living in the later years. Rural community planning is in dire need of imaginative approaches to treatment of social ills, but most programs today are designed only to treat the symptoms.

3. Communities *do* possess limited resources, but these are usually sufficient to develop a program for the aging if we have conviction that we are dealing with human problems that are not unique to one age group alone.

4. The paucity of community programs is not the result of apathy and disinterest, but of the failure of knowledgeable leaders to provide communities with direction as to what is needed and how to meet these needs. We firmly believe in aggressive attempts to spark the interest of communities of all sizes and then to provide assistance in converting interest into action.

5. It is imperative to work through established agencies in the community, such as welfare boards, nursing boards, agricultural extension offices, veterans service offices, schools, libraries, ministerial groups, and farm organizations.

With these guide lines in mind, our procedural steps are as follows:

1. A county citizens committee is appointed by the local welfare board. This approach assures the organizer that the activity of the committee has the support of one of the most influential groups in the county, for in Minnesota the welfare board is composed of the elected county commissioners and two appointed citizens. This procedure also assures the citizen committee that it is needed and serves a valuable purpose, and gives them a certain prestige in the county.

2. Personal contacts are made with members of the citizens committee to acquaint them with the functions of the committee and to establish convictions of its value to the community. These individual contacts also afford the organizer an opportunity to assess the strengths, interests, and special abilities of the members which often are not observed in group meetings.

3. Each county committee is encouraged to call "town meetings" throughout the county to explain its purposes and to stimulate discussion of needs and interests concerning the aging which exist in the county. Some meetings have drawn as few as 10 people but others have drawn 200. A determined effort is made to secure a representative of each organization in the town at these meetings. Local newspaper items about a program are not enough to gain the support necessary for success in a rural area, for the approval of new programs is dependent upon the understanding of its *personal* meaning to the individual. This is particularly true since the movement and concern for the aging are essentially metropolitan phenomena, even though most rural counties are actually experiencing a disproportionate growth in the numbers of older persons. It is also true where one organiza-

tion dominates a community—not always to the best interest of the total community.

4. Following the appointment of a committee and its conducting of town meetings, the organizer's role is that of expediter. He helps the committee evaluate the knowledge gained in the meetings, develop priorities, and assess available resources. At this point the citizens committee in a rural area frequently needs to reevaluate its function, for it usually prefers to engage in action projects rather than to study or to serve in an advisory capacity. The danger here is that the committee may become bogged down on one project, take the initiative and responsibility from community groups, and stultify whatever interest in the aging has been generated by their earlier efforts.

The goals of community organization are not truisms, they are mandates. Thus the expression of a liberal philosophy regarding the right of every person to equal opportunities requires a deep conviction that anything is possible of achievement if one has a spirit eager to tackle any problem that may be encountered. Too often we expound on the needs of people with great eloquence, expecting that this will be sufficient to stimulate action on the part of some presumably responsible, but often unidentified, group.

The pressing social and economic issues inherent in our growing aging population are simple warning signs of the issues we will face in the future. We have noted in Minnesota a radical change in population structure, particularly in the age group of those over seventy-five. Eleven counties have increased over 200 percent in this group within the past thirty years, and forty-three counties over 100 percent. Such facts demand action. A complex of services far beyond present availability or comprehension must lie ahead if we

are to provide a desirable climate for the older citizen. This means that no one agency can do the job alone nor can any one staff person perform all the necessary functions. The community organizer in a rural area is constantly frustrated by the realities of limited staffs, time, and finances, but these should not sterilize or immobilize our efforts.

The keys to this problem are found in two techniques: sharing the burden and adapting traditional methods of providing a service when necessary. In Minnesota we have embarked upon a five-county demonstration project in organizing rural community services. The results have been far beyond expectations for the time and effort expended and point up the value of establishing demonstration projects in rural areas where small, intensive efforts can be expended with total community support. The following are examples of shared responsibility and adaptation of programs we have achieved:

1. In Minneapolis we held a cooking school, of four two-hour sessions, for persons over fifty years of age. The school was so enthusiastically received that we experimented with classes in the rural areas of three counties, in three different ways. One was to have the county home demonstration agent give the course to the leaders of women's groups. They, in turn, conducted the sessions in their own small groups of twelve or more. Another way was to set up a booth at the annual After 60 Hobby Show with a continuous two-day demonstration. The third method was to obtain the services of a home economist from a rural power company to conduct several sessions throughout her region.

2. Another example is preretirement counseling. This is easy to organize in large towns, but we wanted to reach the farmers. We have done this in three different ways in as

many rural areas. One was by a series of meetings organized through the agricultural extension offices; another, through a course given to the leaders of the women's groups. The third method was to organize a series of town meetings on specific subjects throughout the county. The county attorney spoke at four separate meetings on legal matters, such as wills, transfer of property, and so forth. The local social security official did likewise on his topic. (There were 541 persons in attendance, which is 10 percent of the county's population in the age group of forty-five to sixty-four.) We plan to follow up with a physician, the veterans service officer, and so on.

3. A third example came out of the need for social outlets in communities which have no recreation department or community center. In one town of 4,500 a citizens committee persuaded the one nursing home to open its lounge and craft room to the public. The committee recruited volunteer staff and a housewife with occupational training. Both the residents of the Home and the older citizens of the community have benefited. In another town, of 2,000, the citizens committee embarked upon a campaign of fund raising and purchased a building to serve as a community center. A television set was obtained with saving stamps collected in containers set out by the committee at local stores. More than \$800 was raised by organizing a theater group in the churches and producing a Passion play at Easter time. Farmers donated old chain saw blades and other scrap metal which volunteers collected and the committee sold. The Lions Club put on a pancake supper that swelled the fund by \$339.

Other examples could be added, such as adult classes conducted by retired teachers in homes and churches during

the day time; the use of volunteers for transportation; the training of rural Red Cross gray ladies to help in private homes and nursing homes; and the use of luxury resort facilities to house the elderly during winter months at a fee compatible with our maximum old age assistance payments. We must honestly say that these are isolated programs, but they do prove what can be achieved with conviction, sharing, and adaptation.

One observation about community organization for the aging in rural areas should be cited. These folks have led a relatively isolated existence. Society is more mobile today, but our present generation of oldsters must be programmed for in a manner which takes into account their background and emotional make-up. Thus we must structure programs to insure, not prevent, participation by being mindful of their reticence regarding group activities and their conservative reaction to "help." We must tie in the new with the traditional and we must seek the blessing for our programs from established, accepted local institutions.

Let us not be liberal in words and conservative in action. Let us be creative. Let us be flexible. Let us be sharing. But most of all, let us be conscious of our responsibility for providing full opportunity for the aging in any community to live in independence and pride as long as humanly and humanely possible.

**THE PLACE OF INFORMATION
AND REFERRAL CENTERS IN
COMMUNITY PLANNING**

by Serena Virginia Crowley

TODAY, providing service to the community through a central information and referral center is quite an undertaking. We know that in 1957 statistics gleaned from eighteen cities showed that 292.3 inquiries were received per each 100,000 population. Throughout the country there are forty-one such central services, each one of which is part of a planning agency. This does not include the many specialized information centers which assume responsibility for gathering information on resources in their respective fields such as alcoholism, cancer, mental health, cerebral palsy, and so on.

With increasing recognition of the value of available, accurate guidelines for the individual who needs to reach the agency best set up to serve him, comes extended usage and greater public demand. It has been stated in broad terms that "community organization in social work is a process of effecting adjustment between social welfare needs and social welfare resources." The social worker in a central referral setting, by helping people help themselves through identifying their needs and promoting ways of meeting these, is part of the wide design. Usually, the job of the

social worker in a direct-service agency entails some aspect of community organization practice. The referral worker may find that he will develop some skills in community organization practice since within the framework of his function he is in the position of relating himself to other agencies, to other groups, and to the total community.

Planning as undertaken by a health and welfare council or a council of social agencies can be seen assuming three separate roles: (a) coordinating the services of various agencies and interpreting their programs; (b) identifying unmet social needs; (c) helping to promote ways of meeting those needs. An information service has some responsibility in each of these spheres. (The community planning organization is responsible not only for identifying unmet needs but for refining this knowledge so that the real and attainable goals will emerge from those apparent but unproved.)

The purpose of an information and referral service is to bring people and services together, to present and interpret agencies and their programs to members of the community, and to encourage, through skilled direction, a fuller, more effective use of existing resources. Clearly defined, an information and referral service function is to provide a place where people may learn how they can get help with their problems and are aided by a social worker to make contact as quickly as possible with the agency best set up to give the needed direct service. Basically, skills required of any caseworker will be utilized in the short-contact interview or referral process. The enabler, working within the framework of agency function in sharing information regarding resources the client asks for, or helping him find the one he may really need, is building toward the objective of the

client's moving on to another agency. This helping process is based on information regarding the client's needs which is only sufficient to assess the problem and provide a permissive climate whereby the positives of the interview can be the bridge for the client in taking the next step, to the agency where the total problem will be considered.

Since the casework method is accepted as the distinctive approach in giving service to individuals through social work, the community can expect that a responsible referral will be based on acceptable casework practice. The social worker in an information and referral setting has responsibility to help the applicant establish contact with the best the community has to offer in the health, welfare, and recreational fields, which implies essential programs administered by skilled staff. The logical expectation of the community is that in determining the particular agency or resource for referral, judgment will be based on comprehensive and current knowledge of existing programs and of eligibility and intake policies in relation to the immediate need. A successful referral plan can be the first step in a meaningful and highly productive relationship between the troubled person and the direct-service agency.

While the primary purpose of an information service is to provide a central spot where the individual in need may obtain guidance in choosing wisely the agency best set up to help him work through his problems, the service can also be utilized by the staff members of other agencies. In a highly specialized, complex, interdependent society, it is not possible for an agency to perform its function without being related to other agencies and other organizations. Any agency, to some degree, must coordinate its work with that

of others. No one agency can do everything for all people, and thus it must have some awareness of resources available through other services.

Campbell Murphy has spoken of "community-mindedness" rather than "agency-mindedness." Staff of other agencies can look to a central service not only for current information concerning other resources in the local community for their clients, but regarding facilities that may be needed elsewhere. This phase of the service can be fulfilled by making available the resource file of directories from other areas, compiled nationally, state, county, or city-wide, and those prepared by fields of service. The value of this easily accessible material for agency staff, board, or other groups, in fact to anyone, whether applicant or contributor, should not be minimized. Contributing to the usefulness of this library of resource material is the practice of exchanging local social service directories, followed by many information services.

Community organization and planning look to the central service to provide to the interested public an over-all picture of available social services (particularly current expansions and new developments). In addition, this service can be a constructive part of the community orientation process for the new staff member of other agencies or the experienced worker recently come from another locale.

Nowadays, the social worker in an information setting who simply works at his desk is doomed before he starts. We find the public looking not only for availability on a one-to-one basis whereby the inquirer may receive, via the nearest telephone, information about the resource in which he is interested or the troubled person will be guided to the professional help that will lead him toward attainment of

a more satisfactory way of life. The public is expressing, too, greater interest in neighborhood-oriented services which might be the physical extensions of the central service in a branch office.

Many intrepid centers have done much to develop greater visibility by participating in planning and meeting with representatives of civic organizations, physicians, lawyers, unions, club members, industrial and school personnel. Information centers are working with members of the clergy in specific situations, and the clergy are turning to the central service for resources for people they are counseling.

In fulfilling the purpose of a central service there is a responsibility for meeting those needs envisioned by the originators of the service and also to recognize new needs which develop in a changing world in which there is increasing knowledge. If the central service is to continue to be an integral part of the community plan for social service, it will need to have a responsive atmosphere to these changing attitudes and behavior.

Phyllis Osborn has said:

The agency bears the responsibility for translating community concern into warm and purposeful relationships with troubled men, women and children. To the agency falls the difficult and often unglamorous task of capturing the exuberance of "cause" and molding it into the day-to-day repetitive efforts needed to translate the high hopes of the supporters of a cause into services of a quality commensurate with those hopes.¹

She goes on to speak of the enormity of the task when we are involved in the crisis that each day can bring and the difficulty in engaging in self-discipline involved in an overall evaluation of our activities. It is sometimes difficult to

¹ Phyllis R. Osborn, "Meeting the Needs of People: an Administrative Responsibility," *Social Work*, III, No. 3 (1958), 70-71.

measure with clarity how far our definition of function, our policies, our method of operation, and our available resources are helping or hindering accomplishment of the avowed purposes of the agency.

We know that a responsible agency whose policy is to inform the community through various public education media about the difficult problems of the people whom they serve, will find a more understanding public and certainly a more supportive one. We have often been more alert to the need of keeping the public informed of developments and program than, as the press reminds us, we have been to the need to publicize the human side of the problems to which our efforts are directed. This is an experience we probably all have had in presenting a particular service to groups. Recently a social worker met with members of two different local unions during the same month to describe the services of her particular agency. The presentation for the first group was more detailed as to purpose, scope of program, source of financial support. The kinds of problems brought by the clients were referred to in fairly broad terms: services to older people, child care, unmarried mothers, financial assistance, marriage counseling, budgeting and legal aid.

For the second group, greater emphasis was put not only on the kinds of problems people bring to the agency, but also on specific case illustrations of what the service can mean to those unable to resolve their varied concerns without help. The week following, two requests for help were received by the agency from members of the first group. Following the meeting of the second group, which had discussed the handling of specific problems, there were nine inquiries.

Through discussion of what the community has to offer

in health and welfare resources as related to an individual problem, the potential client or financial supporter—and often he is both—will see not only the opportunity but the necessity for the individual citizen to participate in the planning process to achieve better services for himself in working for the betterment of the total welfare.

The market for increased professional services has brought another responsibility to referral services in the field of the aging as well as in child welfare and family life. The growth in the child population is matched by the increasing number of older people. Just as we are beginning to be effective in the extension of our informal educational opportunities, so we find older people who take the initiative to continue in some form of employment or engage in civic and political activity. This is often possible where greater emphasis has been placed by the agency providing the counseling service on the individual's ability—mental and physical—in helping him return to the labor market. At a time when scientific brains were never more needed, it is said that half of the nine thousand scientists and several thousand engineers over sixty-five are retired. It was a seventy-four-year-old professor of botany who gave the world aureomycin three years after his forced retirement, while he was working part time in a pharmaceutical laboratory.

The advisability of a decision to undertake a different type of employment, whether full or part time, in older years can only be measured in relationship to the individual's total situation. Continuation in the field of competitive business or labor is not necessarily a requirement for the senior citizen who wishes to continue as a needed and participating member of society. We find a more articulate and sustained interest in what the community offers in

health and welfare, as evidenced by members of this age group who use information centers. Older people with rich experience as laymen can fit into the voluntary services, which often desperately need their help, and can be instrumental in supporting the planning agency in interpretation of why the voluntary dollar is needed to hold the existing line and to develop new approaches.

One of the responsibilities of an information center to social planning is to maintain a good relationship with other agencies. Unless there is implied trust on the part of the worker making the referral and the worker accepting the referral, the helping process will break down. We have said it is our responsibility to direct people coming to us to the agency best set up to help. Staff of an information service are in a singular position to know agency programs and have convictions as to their values if they keep currently informed through constant association with the specialists in the planning and direct service fields who are concerned with standards and progress. Information centers will find that the greater the degree of skill with which the worker moves within the defined information function, the more meaningful relationships with other agencies can be. While the primary function carries responsibility for relating the client to the direct service as soon as possible, there is also the responsibility in inter-agency relationships of giving information about resources. In addition to presenting this factual data with competency, the worker should be able to differentiate between supplying a resource to the inquiring worker and going beyond the reasonable limits of her job into aspects of supervision which appropriately are vested elsewhere.

Another service which many planning and fund-raising

agencies expect of the information center is the processing of complaints. I suggest that provision of a neutral spot where anyone may express his dissatisfaction can, if it is wisely used, contribute to the further development of general public understanding. The degree of usefulness will depend in a large measure on the joint responsibility assumed by the center and the direct-service agency for clarification, further interpretation, or working things out on a more satisfactory basis. The information worker can be the link between the complainant and the agency, recognizing that in the last analysis it is the prerogative of the staff and board of the direct-service agency to interpret the services they represent.

A letter complaining about the food and certain restrictive rules, signed by seven patients in a tax-supported hospital, was received by a radio network. The public relations department of the United Fund asked that the information service follow up. Through the cooperation of the health division of the planning agency, the regional health supervisor for the institution was advised of the questions raised. The authorities picked up the matter, and in due course a notification was received that the hospital and regional administration had given the matter careful consideration. A meeting was held in the hospital and the patients were invited. The conclusions reached seemed to indicate that while the complaints regarding the food had little reality basis, other points brought out by the patients were well taken, and new services were planned.

There are, of course, agencies which are lacking in responsible administration. In this type of situation we may not be able to be as helpful as we would wish to be. It is

the responsibility of an information center to share knowledge of inadequacies of this kind with appropriate members of the planning agency. Information gathered from this central spot will aid the planner in his role of helping to promote ways of meeting those unmet needs. The very rationale for centers being part of a health and welfare council is that the planning staff can look to referral centers' experience in terms of nature and volume of requests, trends and gaps in service.

For many years a nonsectarian homemaker service was lacking in Philadelphia. Recently one division of the council studied the need, and as a result, services were developed by a direct-service agency. In making their final recommendation, one of the factors given serious consideration was the number of requests for homemakers reported by the information and referral service.

A final, and highly important, responsibility is that of replying to inquiries from trust officers, attorneys, industrial firms, chamber of commerce, regarding the community status of health and welfare agencies, their program, standards of operation, and so on. One bank requested the help of the central service in administering an estate. The will, drawn in the mid-nineteenth century, listed fifty-two agencies as beneficiaries. Many of these were currently known by other names, some had lost their identity through mergers, and in a few instances the agency was nonexistent. It was necessary not only to trace the agency history but also supply sources of this identification which would be admissible in court.

In discussing the ways in which the public uses a central service, it would be remiss if mention were not made of

the myriad and oft-times bizarre so-called "information calls." Included among those received one morning were:

What should one do about flying ants which have practically taken over a new house?

A recreation leader asked for suggestions as to how to obtain three matching jackets for a teenage combo trying out on a television talent scout program.

A crusading eighth-grade student sent a postal card requesting help with her composition assignment, "What my Community offers in Health and Welfare Services" with a postscript: "Please send all you have by return mail as I am late already."

I would like to conclude on a philosophical note. I believe that within the established framework of the referral job there is expectation for professional growth and a broadening of knowledge in conjunction with the widening scope of present-day social work. There will be recognition and sensitivity to opportunities, which will sharpen skills, and an ability to delineate services based on standards accepted as good social work practice. In the day-to-day job, with a highly volatile intake, the seriousness and complexity of problems, the pressures of situations needing immediate attention and often in unpredictable volume, may tend toward preoccupation with the task at hand. Objective study and self-evaluation on a local level may be stimulated and programs strengthened through workshops, institutes, and less formal meetings of information staffs.

The fact that there are operations in many centers throughout the country indicates the existence of a fairly substantial body of knowledge relating to a referral pro-

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gram. Opportunities to share problems and seek improved methods are of help when we try to measure the effectiveness of our part in the community's plan for meeting the needs of people. The criterion is often not how far we get but how close we come.

SOCIAL GROUP WORK IN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS

by Louis Miniclier

"NO SOCIAL WORKER or anyone else concerned in any way with the international scene or with social or economic conditions can understand the world in which he lives without some understanding of community development."¹ In the 1960 *Social Work Year Book* this sentence is preceded by the statement that "community development is one of the most significant and far-flung economic and social movements of modern times (or, in fact, of human history); it has to do with the present and future conditions of life of millions of people in newly developing countries."² It is a dynamic evolving social phenomenon born of necessity which has captured the imagination of national political leaders, social planners, and activists. Its vitality, world-wide import, and the variety of institutionalized forms it is taking have rapidly dispelled the notion that community development was merely an extension or adaptation of Western social work, adult education, or

¹ Arthur Dunham, "Community Development," in *Social Work Year Book, 1960*, ed. Russell H. Kurtz (New York: National Association of Social Workers, 1960), p. 178.

² *Ibid.*

agricultural extension. It is not a branch of public administration or of the several social sciences. It borrows freely, but has achieved its own identity.

Acceptance of the fact that community development is broader than social work as it has evolved and is practiced in the United States is fundamental in any consideration of the contribution of social group work to international community development. Until recently, the social work profession saw its own image in certain aspects of community development, and some still equate community development and social work. The question frequently raised is: Should the village-level worker be a social worker? Many agricultural extension specialists, adult educators, and health educators raise the same question with reference to their own professions. Based on world experience and current practice, this question has become primarily academic.

It is an inescapable fact that United States social work has barely touched the fringe of community development. Why? The emphasis in the recent past has been upon specialization, with casework as the base upon which training was founded: ". . . there is frequently an excessive preoccupation with methodology, requiring even more advanced forms of specialist training and an overemphasis on degrees and 'professional' standards."³ The social work professional, recognizing that similar skills are required in community development and social work, has too often attempted a "hard sell" of United States social work to foreign visitors and in failing to "shun the downward com-

³ Walter M. Kotschnig, "Social Development and Foreign Policy," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, CCCXXIX (1960), 152.

parison" has produced negative results. This may answer in part the consistent Philippine rejection of United States community development advisers with social work backgrounds and the failure to include social work in the interdisciplinary faculties of the two Pakistan Village Development academies. A third, probably the primary, reason why social work has barely touched the fringe of community development is the lack of understanding of community development itself.

There has been in the recent past a failure to recognize that governments lacking the institutional capacity in the existing structure created a new institution to reach and involve the masses of the people in self-help efforts to achieve national goals. There are, for example, ministries of community development in India, Malaya, and Ethiopia, and special semiautonomous departments under the Minister of the Interior in Thailand and Iran. There is no set institutional pattern to insure coordination with all relevant ministries. In Jordan this is provided for by placement under the Development Board, and in the Philippines responsibility within the Office of the Presidential Assistant for Community Development. The fact that the Pakistan program, which now has more than four thousand multipurpose village workers, is under the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare and the programs in several newly emerging African nations are presently placed within their departments of social welfare, does not lead to the conclusion that these are social welfare programs as they have been conceived in the United States.

Governments have set broad and varied objectives in their organized efforts to enlist villagers in volunteer self-help and cooperative actions. As in Ghana, some of the

older programs which started with mass literacy work have broadened their objectives as experience was gained. The remarkable tangible results in terms of improved health and agricultural practices, roads, and community facilities which contribute to economic development and social stability are well known. Too often, however, physical accomplishments are considered the measure of community development. In the final analysis, concrete achievements are less important than intangible results. Community development is creating self-confidence, respect for the individual, and faith in government. It is creating attitudes and relationships which add to human dignity and it increases the capacity of people to help themselves. Objectives may be frankly political. Through experience in the use of democratic processes local autonomy is fostered and is resulting in the creation or strengthening of local government. This is also apparent in India. In Pakistan, community development is actively identified with the Government's Basic Democracies program which was designed to create a democratically oriented electorate at all levels. Frequently overlooked in the current literature is the objective of gaining legitimacy on the part of governments through a close and positive identification with the majority of the people who live in villages.

Establishment of these new institutions by governments in order to achieve the broad goals they set for community development has resulted in the creation of a new type of civil servant, the worker at the village level. The literal translation of his title is most often "friend of the village." While it is not possible to stereotype the village-level worker, it is apparent that his prototype does not exist in America. He may have some of the attributes and use

similar techniques, but he is quite different from the United States social worker, health educator, or agricultural extension agent. Recent observations in Iran, Jordan, and Pakistan indicate that village workers are usually young village men and women with high school education or less. They are trained in simple techniques in agriculture, health, engineering, and, in some instances, in literacy work. They are also trained in community survey, in planning, and in the art of the use of the democratic process—community education, community organization, and social action. They live in a village and serve four or five adjacent villages. As the "friend of the village" they represent the government's interest and services and are the link between the villagers and the complex world of government services.

The village-level worker is concerned with group work, community education and organization, and social action. While his approach is rooted in the concept of the worth of the individual, he is not deeply concerned with social casework as it is practiced in America.

Community development methods include group work and community organization. However, concluding that social group work, as it has developed particularly in England and America, can make a direct transfer of its experience to international community development may be erroneous. Just as community development came into being to help meet today's needs, modern social work came into being to meet another set of needs in the past. While social work shuns the word "palliative" and the image of the do-gooder, there is little historically wrong in their use. Through doing good and using palliative measures it was possible to cope with the excesses and social readjustments brought on by the Industrial Revolution and to

evolve the level of social security and services which now exist in America. Community development is neither palliative nor "do-good" in the same historical sense that the terms are applied to social work.

Another factor which needs to be weighed when considering the contribution of social group work, or the contribution of any other art or science concerned with human organization, is the nature of the non-Western world. The single example of "worth" suggests that great differences in values exist. In our society a worthy individual is economically productive. In parts of South Asia productivity is less important than worthy actions leading toward the next incarnation. The unproductive man in our society, who is rejected, may be the contemplative man in India, who is accepted. Non-Western Indian leaders concerned about the rising tide of juvenile delinquency may be less interested in rehabilitation to assure productive citizens than they are with helping make youth worthy of a better next life. "Culture can be a tyrant. Our own set ways of looking at what we may consider the set ways of strangers may prevent us from really seeing the peoples we encounter."⁴

The social worker or any other agent of change in an alien society inevitably tampers with the cultural fabric. This is a delicate and dangerous operation. It behooves all outside agents of change to know the implications of attempting to introduce new ideas and techniques. It must be recognized that "all aspects of a traditional community culture are in some way linked with one another, and that change in one aspect of the culture may therefore affect

⁴ Robert Bunker and John Adair, *The First Look at Strangers* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1959), p. 150.

other aspects of it and create new problems."⁵ The social worker as the purveyor of ideas also needs to recognize that it is easier to modify the plow after introduction or redesign a latrine slab than it is to modify an idea. There is the ever present danger that a technique for human organization may become a gadget or a means of manipulation. For example, in one country "group dynamics" has been accepted with an enthusiasm which at present precludes serious consideration of other techniques.

Community development and social group work differ in purpose, organization, and operation.

1. Community development has broader purposes than those of social work. These include: the sparking of economic and social progress in rural areas, where more than 80 percent of the population of less developed countries still live; bringing isolated communities into the commercial economy and into the main stream of national life while acting as a healthy brake on violent social change; building a sense of self-reliance and political responsibility and providing experience in democratic management of local affairs. Community development helps build democracy at the grass-roots level. It has a broader focus than group work and aims at a broader impact.

2. The government organizational pattern for community development is not paralleled in the United States.

3. Operations are carried forward by a new type of civil servant whose role as "friend of the village" and change catalyst differs from that of the social group worker or community organizer. One setting is primarily rural; the other, urban. The social group worker is usually concerned

⁵ T. R. Batten, *Communities and Their Development* (London: Oxford University Press, 1957), pp. 13-14.

with one segment of the population. The social welfare community organizer, if he is concerned with the total community, has a social welfare objective in mind. The village-level worker is concerned with the total village and with its needs as the villagers express them. He is not agency-oriented as social workers are in the United States. The village-level worker is oriented to the whole of village life. He starts where the people are with something they themselves want. The first project may be the repairing of the mosque or the building of a road. Before the project is set there may be long periods of discussion to break down the factions which have become established over the generations. He is not bound by or judged by the achievement of agency-set goals. In this he differs from the usual Western specialist.

Despite these differences, social work and community development share the same basic philosophy. They are both concerned with the worth of the individual in a democratic society. The ability to understand social conditions, understand psychology, work with people, and get people to work with each other is fundamental in both cases.

In 1958 the United Nations Third International Survey on Training for Social Work concluded the section on community development and social work on an optimistic note: ". . . social work has barely touched the fringe of community development so far, but there are indications that its contribution is beginning to be regarded as significant."⁶ It is equally true that community development programs have barely touched the fringe of social work.

⁶ *Training for Social Work; Third International Survey* (New York: United Nations, 1958), p. 100.

Prior to 1958 a few foreign community development specialists studied in United States schools of social work, and such authors as Arthur Dunham, Clarence King, and Murray Ross were known in the community development field.

Since 1958 there have been other significant beginnings. The National Social Welfare Assembly is in the process of drafting a Platform on Social Welfare Aspects of Community Development. The Florence Heller Graduate School for Advanced Studies in Social Welfare, Brandeis University, in cooperation with the National Association of Social Workers, sponsored an International Workshop on Community Development and Community Organization in April of 1960. The social work component is a significant element in the first successful interdisciplinary course in the principles and practices of community development, offered to twenty-four representatives from eleven countries at the University of California in 1960.

Community development is not social security or a public assistance program. It is not casework as it is practiced in the United States today. There is increasing agreement; that community organization is the process of social work which is most closely related to social work's contribution to community development.⁷

An American social worker, with broad generic community organization training and experience, ought to be able to make an exceptionally valuable contribution to community development if he understands the cultural pattern and can adapt his knowledge and skills to its requirements.⁸

⁷ Arthur Dunham, *Community Welfare Organization: Principles and Practice* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1958), p. 255.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 256.

Certain types of group workers, such as those involved in neighborhood and settlement house programs, may be even better qualified since they are concerned with the total life flowing around their institutions.

Some conclusions about the role of group workers in Europe may be applicable in the United States:

Neighbourhood centres and settlements, the carriers of a proud tradition of social work for over sixty years, are aware of the ambivalent position they hold in relation to fast-changing communities . . . Netherlands.

Their weakened position in the community suggests what is needed: a re-appraisal of basic goals, and the organization of staff training. The idea once was that you could make good communities by injecting into them some good work and good education, but this nineteenth-century approach to settlement work is no longer sufficient. The centres will have to define their role in the co-operative development of society on the basis of a less mechanistic view of society. For this new job, new skills are needed. Staffs have to be trained for sensitivity and ability to appraise community needs, and in techniques of making community groups more effective.

A revitalisation of neighbourhood centres along the proposed lines would help social work to become a more effective partner in community development efforts.⁹

More than a revitalization is needed if group workers are to contribute to international community development in the 80 percent of the world that is still rural. Group workers need to think in village terms. There is the need to excerpt and adapt from the heritage of Jane Addams and add that knowledge to what has been learned since.

Group work needs to look ahead to 1970 when the population around the world will press in on the expanding

⁹ *Community Development: Some Achievements in the United States and Europe*, EPA Project 337 (Paris: Organisation for European Economic Co-operation, European Productivity Agency, 1960), p. 50.

cities and the suburbias at even a greater rate. Before the urban community development worker becomes as apparent as the village-level worker, social group work should consider its contribution to the fast-changing world. And in this I include the schools and professional societies. United States and Indian planners will meet in the summer of 1960 to discuss urbanization today and tomorrow. They are aware of the social factors. Is social group work represented? This question needs to be asked because in considering today, tomorrow must not be overlooked. Social group work could make its greatest contribution in the urbanizing world if that contribution can be defined and articulated now.

The statement regarding community development quoted from the 1960 *Social Work Year Book* could not have appeared in 1950. Ten years ago "community development" was a new idea. Today it is "one of the most significant and far-flung economic and social movements of modern times." Ten years is a long time at the pace of modern history. American social workers were slow, but no slower than other professionals in the United States to accept the significance of community development. It is to the credit of social work that it was first among the United States specialists and professions to ask: What is our role in international community development? The Council on Social Work Education is credited with encouraging and sponsoring much needed interdisciplinary thinking, such as the meeting held at Cornell University in June, 1959. There are many other evidences that the crust of professional parochialism is crumbling. Social group work is now at the point where it can make a contribution to the world. What is stated in the 1970 *Social Work Year Book* depends on what we do this year and next.

Papers presented at the 87th Annual Forum may also be found in *The Social Welfare Forum, 1960, Mental Health and Social Welfare*, and *Social Welfare Administration* (all published by Columbia University Press); and in *Case-work Papers, 1960* and *Social Work with Groups, 1960*, information concerning which may be obtained from the National Conference on Social Welfare.

